The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME X | New York, Saturday, March 24, 1917 | Number 125

Contents

Editorial Paragraphs 210
Leading Editorials:
War and Revolution 212
Liberal Russia and the Peace of the World 214
The Other Side of Birth Control 216
A Statesmanlike Decision 217
How Congress Divided 218
General Articles:
Pacifism vs. Revolution ..... A. M. Simons 220
American Tradition in the Address to the Senate ..... Carl Russell Fish 221
A Brief for the Banal ..... Alvin S. Johnson 223
Parliament and Democracy ..... H. N. Brailsford 225
Internationalist—Old Style ..... George Soule 227
Correspondence 229
Reviews of Books:
A Stenographer ..... F. H. 234
Poland ..... H. S. 235
Rolland as a Critic of Music ..... P. R. 237
Penrod Matures 242

THE decision of President Wilson to hasten the assembling of Congress is susceptible of only one interpretation. He must intend to recommend to that body the adoption of a course of action which goes further than "armed neutrality," which recognizes the existence of a state of war between the United States and Germany. It is high time that he accepted this necessity. Germany is now committing acts of war against the United States, and those acts are of a kind which give to the American nation an unimpeachable reason for resistance and counter-attack. The vessels which have recently been sunk were unarmed and were not carrying contraband. They were as much a part of American territory and our national security and self-respect are as much concerned with keeping them inviolate as if the destruction and the killing had taken place in New York harbor. It is far preferable, consequently, to make the case of these boats crucial than it is to wait for a possible collision between a submarine and an armed American steamship. The arming of American boats, necessary and justifiable though it was, was a challenge and a provocation. A submarine can always claim as against an armed boat that it shoots in self-defense. But these American ships were wholly inoffensive and innocent. The United States will never have a better justification for declaring that as a consequence of German violence a state of war exists between the two countries. At the present moment the President has a one hundred per cent case against Germany, and by acting now he will rally to his support a larger proportion of his fellow-countrymen than he possibly can by awaiting a further proof of the inexorability and ruthlessness of the submarine warfare.

IT is increasingly apparent that no policy short of war will rescue and reëstablish the imperiled American interests and rights. "Armed neutrality" has from the start been a makeshift which could not be effective either in protecting American ships and crews during the existing emergency, or in tending ultimately to substitute order for violence on the international highway. The only adequate answer to the German submarine campaign is to treat it frankly as the naval policy of a hostile Power, to adopt the most promising methods of keeping a lane to Europe open and of hunting the submarines off the seas, and to do everything possible to prevent the success of the offending government as long as it continues the offense. The reason for answering Germany in this way is the more convincing, because a war entered into by the United States to safeguard the security of the high seas could be so managed as to promote its essential purpose without to any considerable extent involving the nation in irrelevant European political controversies. By erecting a League of Nations into the major principle of American foreign policy President Wilson has laid the foundation for intervention into the European war in the interest exclusively of international order, security and justice. Germany has presented him with an opportunity to prove his good faith and that of his country in seeking such an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

order by invading the international territory whose inviolacy is essential to any effective organization of international security. What an extraordinary opportunity it is for a statesman who aspires above everything else to contribute to the pacification of the world! Not only can he give his own countrymen a chance to make their sufferings and sacrifices in the war serve the cause of ultimate peace, but he can help to make the sufferings and sacrifices of other nations serve the same end. He can give an increasing measure of reality to the prayer of European mothers that their sons shall not have died in vain.

THE German retreat will not be satisfactorily explained until the events of the spring campaign lie before us. The manoeuvre will necessarily delay the Allied offensive, as weeks will be required to bring up the colossal machinery of attack before the new German lines. The chance of a military conclusion in the course of this year is thus materially reduced. But why should the Germans want to keep the war undecided for a longer period? The new line may be stronger than the old, but it can not be much stronger. It can be held by fewer men, but it can also be attacked by fewer men. If the German reserves were exhausted the shorter line would have to be accepted perforce, but it seems to be agreed that Germany is only just attaining her maximum man power. At best the shortening of the line may possibly release between half and three-quarters of a million of men, who could be used elsewhere in the six weeks or two months the Allies will need to prepare for a new offensive. They are the best men Germany has. In ten days they could be thrown upon the eastern frontier for a quick thrust at Petrograd, which is less than three hundred miles from the German lines in Poland. In the same time Mackensen could make ready for a thrust at Odessa. Such attacks, if successful, would throw Russia into confusion and might even result in civil war and general anarchy. The new republic may prove able to defend itself against even the most desperate German attack. But whether it can do so depends not alone upon the courage and patriotism of the Russian revolutionary party. It depends also upon the quantity and quality of the munitions assembled under the earlier régime of incompetence and corruption.

THE Tariff Commission nominations offer illuminating evidence of the spirit that might be expected to govern President Wilson's administrative appointments if he were free to ignore or defy considerations of partisan expediency. All the nominees to the Tariff Commission are men of energy, integrity and independence of judgment. The Commission as a whole compares very favorably in force of character and practical efficiency with the Interstate Commerce Commission at its best. The chairman, Professor Taussig, is one of the most distinguished tariff authorities in the world, and is far and away the most eminent tariff authority in the United States. Seekers after exorbitant tariff favors will revile Professor Taussig as a theorist. He is a theorist who will very clearly see through the crooked devices by which greedy interests have hitherto sought to delude Congress. He is also a practical man who knows the details of tariff making here and abroad and is excellently qualified to fit our tariff into the system of world commercial relations. And this is a vital need for a people that has emerged from isolation. The Republicans have criticized the Commission on the ground that there is no regular Republican on it. With one possible exception, neither is there a regular Democrat on the Commission. In any event the criticism comes with bad grace from a party that has maintained that the making of a tariff is a scientific matter. Strict partisanship will not mix with science; still less will strict bi-partisanship. Nothing in the world could be more futile than a tariff commission composed of good Democrats and good Republicans, each ardently defending a party orthodoxy already obsolete.

SENATOR NORRIS has raised an interesting question in offering to submit his action in opposing the arming of American ships to the judgment of the voters of Nebraska at a special recall election. If the election goes against him he is willing to resign, but in the mean time he refuses to vote for what he believed to be an act of war or to surrender his own convictions about the proper policy for the country to pursue in the present crisis. In making such an offer he is faithful to the spirit of representative government and in our opinion has assumed an impregnable position. With his actual convictions we entirely disagree. By proposing to yield to German terrorism Mr. Norris is compromising rather than protecting the interest which he has so much at heart—that is, the future ability of the American people to work out their domestic problems in their own way. But it is outrageous to question his patriotism or to denounce him for not supporting a bill which he believed to be dangerous in its tendency and equivocal in its meaning. He and his associates were right in resenting the short allowance of time which they were granted to discuss so important a legislative proposal and they were right in stigmatizing the arming of ships carrying contraband as an act of war disguised as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an innocent attempt to protect American life and property. Senator Norris has a grievance and he has adopted a manly way of submitting it to his own constituency.

THE German Chancellor's recent promise of a radical transformation of the interior policy of Prussia and of the German Empire " in the direction of new and enlarged freedom " has been usually interpreted as a concession extorted by the approaching spectre of domestic revolution. The overthrow of the Russian autocracy had put the fear of God into the hearts of its German prototype. This interpretation is probably wrong. No doubt the German leaders are fully aware of the threat of revolution which is overhanging their government among others as a result of the cataclysm of the war; but they have given many evidences of this conciousness before the Russian revolution broke and they have long been planning measures of domestic reform. In so doing they have merely been true to the traditional policy of the Prussian monarchy. Whenever a crisis, brought on either by internal unrest or foreign war, disclosed the need of measures of economic and political reorganization, the advisers of the monarchy have not usually allowed those measures to be forced upon them but have themselves anticipated the need. During the crisis of the Napoleonic wars the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg emancipated the Prussian people and invigorated their local institutions. The government was caught napping in 1848, but it yielded a sufficient measure of popular representation without allowing the revolution to get out of hand. When the German Empire was formed further concessions, such as universal suffrage, were made to the spirit of the times. Finally between 1871 and 1914 the German government was peculiarly enterprising and intelligent in anticipating the need of social legislation, of an improved and enlightened administrative service, and in popularizing this administration by associating with it a new type of representative institutions.

WHAT reforms the German government will propose at the end of the war can only be guessed; but manifestly its leaders have something far more radical in mind than a revision of the Prussian franchise and the abolition of many relics of feudalism in the Prussian imperial constitution. They will probably, as they have done in the past, seek to retain their political power by drastic measures of economic reorganization. It looks as if they would project a fairly complete system of state socialism, associated with a very large infusion of representation in the management of industry both by the employers and the employed. They will have to demand enormous sacrifices from all classes of Germans and they will seek to balance these sacrifices by surrendering to all classes a large amount of collective responsibility and power. Shrewd observers anticipate the practical expropriation of the fluid capital of the country by partial repudiation of the war debt, a great expansion of the cartel system under direct government supervision and a strenuous attempt to secure the support of the wage-earners and the small farmers by the proposal of an increasing measure of economic self-control and self-government. If some such plan were worked out and adopted Germany would become more of an economic than a political democracy, which is just the reverse of our condition. They would thus avoid what they consider the incompetence of republican government.

War and Revolution

IN a period like the present, of agony and foreboding, let us be humbly thankful for a great event which is also a great victory. The most corrupt government, the most detestable despotism, which has survived among the nations of the modern world, is by way of perishing; and its death, as befitted its life, looks inane, inglorious and ignoble. That to the end it had slaked its greedy thirst on the lifeblood of Russia did not prevent it from playing the traitor to the apparently helpless mother of bounties. The Russian bureaucracy befouled the political atmosphere of modern Europe. It tainted or revolted every decent human being who was cast within the circle of its influence. It vitiated the credit of every cause with which it was associated. It was as close to utter degeneracy as any human institution can be. As long as it survived, true liberalism, wherever it existed, in America no less than in Europe, could count on one ultimate and uncompromising enemy. Liberals all over the world can now look forward to the future with increasing confidence. No doubt before the account is settled a very heavy price will have to be paid for the extirpation of such a malignant growth. The Old Régime in Russia, like the Old Régime in France, may require for its eradication a generation of revolutionary unrest. Like the Old Régime in France it may infect with its own poisonous virus the institutions and the men by which it is supplanted. But whatever these consequences are, they should be accepted without flinching. The Russian bureaucracy was a sordid conspiracy against the welfare of the Russian people and the progress of the world. The price which has to be paid for its final extinc-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion can be paid with a whole-hearted sense of value received.

The great war has been subjecting the political fabrics of all the fighting nations to a terrific strain. Institutions which might have survived indefinitely and been slowly modified into something better are being shivered by the concussion of the storm of high explosives. The Russian bureaucracy, as the most incompetent as well as the most degenerate of modern governments, is the first to be shattered, but other institutions, economic as well as political, in so-called liberal as well as in so-called reactionary countries, scarcely succeed in concealing their quaking and distress. The war is putting to them, with an emphasis which cannot be ignored, the very questions which their supporters have ignored so completely when propounded by radical critics and agitators. A world war itself has in fact been proved to be the most remorseless conceivable critic, the most violent and fanatical agitator. Before its effects are spent the Romanoffs will not be the only dynasty which will have to abdicate, the Russian bureaucracy will not be the only band of exploiters who will have to surrender power and disgorge, the Russian peasant will not be the only class who will be called to participate in counsels and partake of feasts from which they have been hitherto excluded. Revolution is pursuing the present war and fast overtaking it.

The relation between revolution and war is usually misunderstood. "I believe," said a speaker at a recent meeting of the Emergency Peace Federation in New York City, "in revolution but not in war." He might as well have proclaimed his belief in day but not in night. Nations which are unable to accomplish needed internal changes without revolutionary violence, will usually be unable to accomplish the needed changes in their relations one to another without war. Nations which are unable to settle their foreign controversies without war cannot expect in the long run to accomplish their more radical domestic reforms without revolutionary violence. If war and revolution are not closely enough connected to be properly compared to the opposite sides of the same shield, they are at least the likely children of the same parents. Conditions which gave birth to one can under ordinary circumstances no more be stopped from giving birth to the other than parents who give birth to females can be stopped from giving birth to males.

This truth is usually obscured, because in the same community the class which looks favorably on revolution is different from the class which looks favorably on war. Revolutionists are for the most part radical agitators who allow the wanton injustice of the social establishment to provoke them to a similarly violent protest. They condemn war because it seeks to impose an artificial unity upon a social organization which in their opinion cannot be harmonized without being purged of its stupidity, callousness, inertia and greed. On the other hand, people who believe in war as an instrument of national policy are usually conservatives, who welcome it as a preventive of internal dissensions and who seek a patriotic sanction for their machinery of domestic and foreign exploitation. The hostility between these two classes, which runs very deep, obscures the underlying truth of the relationship between their respective interests and methods. A social system whose purposes need to be promoted by aggressive wars and to be harmonized by military preparation is bound eventually to breed internal violence; and as long as internal violence exists, either in actual fact or as a serious threat, the course of internal reorganization is likely to be checked or perverted by armed interference from other nations. Radicals who expect to accomplish by means of violence revolutionary internal changes and at the same time to avoid war with other nations are the victims of their own not very creditable illusions. Equally erroneous and far more serious in its probable effects is the corresponding error of the patriotic militarists who are looking forward as a consequence of the present reign of violence in international affairs to a period of beneficent and peaceful domestic recuperation. The imperial architects of the Holy Alliance knew better when at the end of the Napoleonic Wars they planned to suppress revolution by means of the same mechanism with which they suppressed war.

The psychology which has been fostered among the European peoples as a result of the war will not disappear without demanding for its satisfaction drastic and probably violent agitation against existing political and social institutions and equally violent preparations for their defense. At present the majority of the peoples of Europe, including the governing classes, are allowing their emotions to be dominated by hate, their wills by fear, their thinking by unscientific dogmatism, and their purposes by an impatient and importunate exclusiveness. As long as the war lasts the benefit of these states of mind will be reserved chiefly for the enemy, but after it is over the same dispositions will at least in part survive and will poison the relations of the peoples of Europe with their fellow-countrymen. In dealing with their ugly domestic controversies the several classes within a nation will, unless they recover quickly, be disposed to flush with apprehension and resentment, to shriek that without their own victory there can be no peace, to be inflexible in their demands,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rigid in their classifications, intolerant of opposition and impatient of compromise. Confronted as they will be with an accumulation of economic, social and political problems, more acute, more searching and more dangerous than have ever before pressed for solution at any one time, they will need, in case revolutions are to be avoided, a new and a different psychology. No handling of these problems will make for national cohesion rather than national disintegration which fails to call to its aid not suspicion and hatred but faith in the ability of humanity to respond to better opportunities, not feverish dogmatism but the spirit and method of experimental investigation, not exclusiveness but an imaginative inclusiveness of purpose.

Socialists who discover a prophecy of political and social revolution in the economic dislocation, in the rise and fall of classes, and in the prevailing psychology brought about by the war, are probably right. The Russian revolution is magnificent, but it is portentous. Sooner or later analogous causes will provoke analogous effects, not only in the pseudo-despotisms where they are expected but in the pseudo-democracies where they are not expected. Such a colossal error as the present war demands an equally colossal expiation. During the next twenty-five years the heart of western civilization will be searched, its shams exposed, and its final integrity tested. If there has been a real need, as so many patriots have proclaimed, of the purification by war, there will be no less a need of purification by revolution. Admitting that war has temporarily purged the fighting nations of sloth, inattention, frivolity, inefficiency and a selfish love of comfort and safety, has it evoked in their midst equally questionable substitutes? Overspeeding is a doubtful cure for sloth; concentration on the gigantic irrelevance of war is a perilous alternative to inattention and frivolity. The grossest inefficiency of peace is less wasteful than the maximum efficiency of war.

Men and women deprived so long of their accustomed comfort and safety will resume them with a deeper satisfaction and will not give them up as long as the organization of society permits these benefits to be obtained at the expense of others. Unless a second purification follows, the restoration of peace will mean a renewal, perhaps even an intensification, of the former moral and social congestion. How far purification by revolution will have to go will depend in part at least upon the duration of the war and the nature of the peace. If the war is fought to a bitter end and the economic and moral dislocation pushed to the breaking point the ensuing revolution will be correspondingly drastic and dangerous. But if peace supervenes before utter exhaustion sets in and without too much victory, if the governing classes of Europe are capable of acquiring moderation even under constraint and permit the terms of peace to be molded by creative political intelligence rather than by the Jacobinism of war, revolution will not be averted, but it may well be revolution tempered by law and healing in its ultimate effect. Modern civilization is divided against itself. The division finds expression sometimes in war and sometimes in revolution. It is the business of those who are working for a higher level of civilization to mitigate the schism. But for the present they cannot do so by outlawing either war or revolution. They cannot get rid of either without getting rid of both and of the causes of both.

Liberal Russia and the Peace of the World

ENTHUSIASTIC as all liberals must be over the downfall of the Russian autocracy, yet it is impossible to rejoice at ease while grave questions as to the probable trend of Russian foreign policy lie unanalyzed just beneath the threshold of consciousness. The old Russia loomed gigantic, in the popular imagination, as the champion of the orient, the terror of western Europe. An autocracy chiefly of German origin, a bureaucracy permeated by German influence, held the Russian giant bound and blindfold. But now the giant is free. Will he not gather forces that will be capable of bursting any barrier that Germany can erect for the defense of the west? Will he not sweep down from eastern Siberia and reduce China to his sway and Japan to vassalage? Are the Himalayas a sufficiently lofty wall to protect India against a regenerated Russia? These are questions that deserve at least a reasoned negative before we conclude that the Russian revolution can result only in good.

Let us not confuse immediate with ultimate issues. Liberal Russia is likely to develop vastly greater force in its present struggle with Germany than autocratic Russia, even acting in good faith, was capable of. This is a condition of existence for Russian liberalism. The autocracy was in a sense a German party, though for the moment disloyal to Germany. In post-bellum struggles with the people, Czardom would certainly have been forced to lean upon Prussian support. The fight against Germany is therefore an integral part of the fight for internal freedom. The Russian liberal state may well prove more pertinacious in its attempts to win Constantinople than autocratic Russia ever was. Constantinople is a popular

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

symbol, potent as Jerusalem to the mediaeval world, and must not the liberal government win Constantinople if it hopes to command the universal loyalty of the people? This loyalty the autocracy, backed by Germany, could conceivably dispense with. But is it not the rock upon which the whole liberal structure must rest? These are questions, and we can not infer from the liberal insistence upon a victory over Germany and the conquest of Constantinople that the character of the Russian state is henceforward to be aggressive, imperialistic. Other considerations are paramount in any forecast of the future.

Autocracies are imbued with an expansive force, and so also are liberal states. But the conditions of expansion differ widely in character. An autocracy quickly reaches the limit of activity within a given territory. It establishes its peace, consolidates its sources of revenue, provides for its military contingents and places its favorites where emoluments are to be harvested. It does not need to concern itself with organizing education. Indeed, education could only menace its power. It can have no vital interest in public improvements. Such improvements encroach upon the public treasure, and an autocracy early finds itself weighted down with parasites enough to absorb its revenues. Industrial development can not go far without education and public improvements. Such development an autocracy may desire, with a view to greater revenue possibilities. But the desire must remain for the most part unrealized. Accordingly the expansive forces of the autocracy are quickly concentrated upon the frontier. Thus we have seen the Russian government, though possessed of an unlimited domain whose resources lay practically unutilized, restlessly striving through the generations for new conquests. With Siberia a huge empire scarcely occupied, Russia had still to hunger for the forests of the Yalu and the plains of Manchuria. Beaten back by Japan, Russian expansion swept forward into Outer Mongolia on the east and toward the Balkans on the west.

The expansive force of liberal states is exhibited in the scramble of the western nations for colonies in the period following 1870. But this scramble was the result of a panic over markets for states already densely peopled and developed economically almost to the limit of their own resources. England and France grabbed territory, because they seemed not to have enough. Russia, possessed of infinitely more territory than she could develop, still grabbed whatever lands lay within her reach.

As territorial expansion was an inherent necessity of the Russian autocratic state, so internal development is an inherent necessity of Russian liberalism. Its tenure of power will remain precarious so long as the masses of the people are sunk in ignorance and superstition. It must create conditions in which the wealth that is to serve as a basis for a liberal revenue system may be constituted. Industrialization must be carried to a higher degree than the most progressive autocracy would dream of. Colossal energies must be directed to the creation of the means of communication for want of which the incredibly rich natural resources of the empire lie fallow. For decades to come Russian industry, however stimulated, will need no foreign markets. Russian agriculture and mining may yield heavy exports, but there is no need to fret about markets for foodstuffs and raw materials. They are welcomed the world over. Russia in process of development will need no fresh lands for her surplus population. She has room for additional hundreds of millions of people. The cry will soon go up from the provinces that agricultural labor is growing scarce and dear and undisciplined, in consequence of the lure of industry. Russia will have no surplus capital to export for generations.

We may profitably compare the experience of the United States. Down to the Civil War, when modern industrial technique gained a firm footing with us, we were a menace to our neighbors, north and south. We had recently acquired half of Mexico, and it was a widely held view that Panama, if not Tierra del Fuego, was our natural southern boundary. There was a still more widely held view that Canada must sooner or later fall into our hands. Industrialization paralyzed our expansionist tendency, and the sporadic outcrop of it in the Spanish war failed to command the popular interest for long. We still are most content in cultivating our own garden.

For a time, at any rate, the energies of the Russian liberal state will be prompted by domestic development. If our attempts to evaluate the internal problems confronting the liberals of Russia are correct, one is forced to the conclusion that this period of internal development must extend through decades, and probably through generations. And when that time is exhausted and Russia is on a footing with the other industrial states, there will be new problems to solve. The labor problem will be at the front, and not the labor problem of to-day, but a much more baffling problem set by international experience. It will be long before liberal Russia will have time to menace the peace of the world. And before it has time the habit of menacing the peace of the world is likely to be suppressed by a rational international organization.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Other Side of Birth Control

TWO weeks ago the New York legislature held public hearings on a bill to permit doctors and trained nurses to give information on birth control. "Even seasoned legislators," it is reported, were "outraged" by the plainspoken language of some of its women advocates. Canon William Sheafe Chase of Brooklyn protested that birth control "would empty the cradles; it is a product of materialistic philosophy and it ignores God." Dr. James F. Rooney, speaking for the state Medical Society, denounced the bill as a "crime against the commonwealth," and he charged that "the propaganda for birth control is exclusively financial and is carried on by certain people who have been making money from the poor and want to continue it." Mr. Charles E. Skinner, former State Superintendent of Public Instruction, completed the indictment by passionately asserting that "this propaganda is an insult to the morality of the community. . . . Those who bring this measure here ought to be sent to jail with persons who circulated the birth control literature."

Blessed be the pure in spirit who inhabit our legislatures and who have the morals of the commonwealth in their keeping. Argument by the imputation of corrupt motives is a sorry business in a day when scientific facts are available. But the method is still effective. The outraged legislators refused to report the bill out of committee.

And now that the heinous bill has been quashed, the defenders of public virtue and anointed vicars of God will feel free to turn to the constructive side of their program. Are they not always first in the field for "building up" as against "tearing down"? Their work is laid out for them in the report on maternal mortality just published by the Children's Bureau at Washington.

More than fifteen thousand American women die annually in childbirth from diseases "proved over forty years ago to be almost entirely preventable." In the registration area, which includes about two-thirds of our population, "for every 154 babies born alive, one woman loses her life." These figures are based upon the census of 1910, but they are still valid. For while the death rates from typhoid and diphtheria have been cut in half and that from tuberculosis greatly reduced, the mortality from the taboo-sheltered diseases of childbirth "have shown no decrease from 1900 to 1913." Among women of child-bearing age, the preventable diseases of childbirth and pregnancy still cause more deaths than any other except tuberculosis. And in the protection of mothers, the United States is one of the most backward nations in the world. "When the sixteen countries studied are arranged in order, with the one having the lowest rate first, the death registration area of the United States stands fourteenth on the list." This disgraceful condition continues year after year because "a general realization of certain of the fundamental facts relating to the bearing of children has only begun; this function has always been looked upon with a mixture of ignorance and fatalism."

And yet the courageous minority who attempt to dispel this fatalistic ignorance are denounced as enemies of God and one with the traffickers in commercialized vice. But surely if it is a mortal sin to give to the generality of women the facts about rational birth control, which are freely imparted to-day by all physicians with well paid practices, it can hardly be held a crime to make child-bearing safe and to protect the newborn from the penalties of ignorance.

Unhappily the taboo against enlightenment extends even to the medical profession. Forty odd years ago, before the adoption of the aseptic methods advocated by Pasteur and Lister, the death-rate in all hospitals in all countries was, under fortunate circumstances, from three to four per cent of all women confined. Often it rose to twenty per cent and less frequently to fifty per cent, so that in the face of devastating epidemics, cities and entire states were compelled to close their obstetrical hospitals. In a few of the best regulated hospitals to-day, deaths from puerperal infection have been cut down to one-fourth of one per cent. This has given rise to the popular belief that the death-rate from this cause has been decreasing fast. The opinion is illusory. Experts of such wide experience as Dr. J. W. Williams, professor of obstetrics in Johns Hopkins, Dr. J. C. Webster of Rush Medical College, and Dr. J. B. DeLee of Northwestern say that outside of hospitals there has been no reduction in the death-rate from puerperal septicemia for more than a generation.

The experts know what can be done, but the taboo against plain speech has kept its restraining hand upon the dissemination of knowledge even in the professional schools. In 1911, Dr. Williams was authority for the statement that in the "majority of the medical colleges in the United States, instruction in obstetrics is grossly neglected." And of course, instruction in the pre-natal care of women and in the preparation of men and women for intelligent parenthood was in a far more backward state. Some slight progress has been made during the past five years, but Dr. Grace W. Meigs, who writes the report of the Children's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bureau, finds that "further improvement is greatly needed." Graduates of medical colleges are as a rule unprepared to manage any but absolutely normal cases of confinement, and their training in the asepsis of childbirth is dangerously slight. No one who has been in practical contact with the out-patient work of even the best maternity hospitals can have failed to run into cases where the gross incompetence of post-graduate students resulted in harrowing tragedies. The fact is that the taboo which made the statesmen at Albany recoil in outraged horror from the plain speech of the birth-control advocates still exerts a powerful influence upon scientific specialists. More than anything else, it accounts for the official opposition of state medical societies and municipal academies of medicine whose members give such information as they possess in the shelter of their private practice.

Outside of hospitals, deaths from childbirth are still piously referred to as "acts of God." Puerperal septicemia is not a reportable disease even in the registration area. It is a thing which physicians are expected to pass over in mystical silence. And as a result of this pseudo-religious obscurantism, the death-rate among the poor is, of course, much higher than among the well-to-do. It is always the poor whom we sacrifice to our taboos. Precise statistics as to the relative mortality among women of childbearing age at different economic levels, the report of the Children's Bureau does not give. But it suggests that if we plot the maternal mortality curve in close parallel to the curve for infant mortality, we shall not go very far wrong. Dr. Meigs's figures on the mortality among the babies of the poor, the increasing mortality with the increasing number of children, and the deadly effect of combined poverty and fatalistic ignorance have an indirect as well as a direct significance.

Take Manchester, Pennsylvania, a town with a large Canadian-French population, noted for its religious piety. There the Bureau found that of babies whose fathers earned less than $450, one in four died before it was twelve months old. The great majority had fathers in the wage group between $450 and $849, and of these one in six died in the first year. Among those whose fathers earned $1,050 or more, the rate dropped sharply to one in sixteen. With low wages go crowded dwellings. In houses occupied by a single family, the infant mortality was 86 in a thousand; in tenements occupied by more than six families, the rate leapt to 237 in a thousand. But the statement which will be most eagerly welcomed by the opponents of birth control as a challenge to their constructive energies is this:

> Sheer size of family appears to be one factor in this high Canadian-French rate, one-third of their babies being sixth or later in order of birth, while over one-sixth of these mothers had from 9 to 18 children. These Canadian-French babies in families of 6 or more children died at the rate of 246.2 per 1,000, and the rate rises to 277.2 per 1,000 when only babies ninth or later in order of birth are considered.

Would it be a crime against the community to spread the economic and medical information for lack of which these children die? A devout clergyman once told us that he had no time for a campaign of education against infant mortality because he was too busy preparing the souls of dead children for the blessed ascension. Is this the other side of the propaganda for birth control?

A Statesmanlike Decision

THE most striking feature of Chief Justice White's opinion, delivered last Monday, upholding the constitutionality of the Adamson law, is its clear perception that it was as a problem in statesmanship rather than as a problem in arid logic that the law must be approached. It was not mere pedantry that led the Chief Justice to state with such detail the train of events which culminated in the passage of the law. A national emergency confronted the nation last fall, one that required drastic and immediate action. There was a deadlock, threatening complete industrial paralysis and inconceivable personal suffering. It was a deadlock which the parties themselves could not break; only Congress could establish the wage standard about which the parties to the controversy differed. And Congress took what seemed the most effective, and what was perhaps the only effective, means of meeting the crisis. That is the salient fact, which itself justified the Adamson law under the Constitution. It would be a perversion of thought and language to hold that the power to regulate commerce among the states did not comprise the power to do what was necessary to prevent such a threatened paralysis. In thus analyzing the issue the Chief Justice did so with the instinct of a statesman. At once all the specious arguments with which lesser lawyers have sought to becloud the situation fade into the background. It makes no difference whether the law was technically a wage law or an hours of labor law. The power of Congress is not delimited by technical concepts or arbitrary definitions. It is not a question whether the wage contract or the relation of employer and employee, abstractly considered, is a part of interstate commerce. Congress was not legislating to regulate an abstraction. The emergency was real; it threatened a paralysis of inter-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

state commerce; and Congress did what it could to avert it. That consideration was enough to sustain the law.

The decision will stand as more than a great constitutional landmark. It has vindicated the credit of the government in its dealings with labor. It is appalling to consider what might have been the outcome of a contrary decision. The immediate issue, it is true, dissolved in the shadow of impending war. But the principle would have been established that the highest representatives of the American people could secure a labor truce by a solemn promise of reforms and concessions, and later, when the crisis was averted, prove impotent to make good what had been promised. As it is, performance has been delayed for nearly three months, a delay that all but precipitated disaster. But the promise has at last been redeemed; permanent paralysis of a vital modern function of government has been avoided by the decision of last Monday. How narrowly it was escaped, the closeness of the vote and the earnestness of the dissenting opinions bear witness.

As a legal precedent, the decision is of the highest importance. In spirit, if not in strict legal analysis, it wipes out the unwholesome precedent of the Adair case, in which the provisions of the Erdman act forbidding the discharge of an employee on a railroad on the ground that he was a member of a labor union, were held invalid. There, as here, the contention was urged that the provision was adopted as part of a program of avoiding strikes by granting by law those vital demands of the employees which public opinion sanctioned. The argument was rejected by the court on abstract grounds of liberty of contract and on formal limitations on the power of Congress under the commerce clause. The method of approach adopted by the court in upholding the Adamson law removes this precedent as a constitutional barrier to a statesmanlike approach to the railroad labor problem. If a temporary emergency measure designed to avert an immediate crisis is constitutional, assuredly a matured and constructive permanent program designed to prevent a recurrence of such a crisis will be sustained. Such a program cannot be satisfied merely with a legal inhibition on the strike. No sentimental vaporings over the majesty and supremacy of the law can becloud the fact that if there is a real grievance, or if there is earnestly thought to be a real grievance, there will be a strike, law or no law; and that to enforce a criminal statute against 400,000 resolute men will precipitate a revolution. The problem is much more intricate; it is political and administrative quite as much as it is legal. It can be solved only if the government fearlessly assumes responsibility for the terms and conditions of labor, and the adjustment and adjudication of disputes, and by skilful administration seizes every opportunity to accustom the men to look to the government as the normal source of redress for industrial wrongs, and of progress toward higher industrial standards. For such an approach to the problem the decision rendered last Monday paves the way.

How Congress Divided

THE opinion seems to be general that if the sentiment of the recent Congress was split on the proposal to arm merchant ships, it was at least split cleanly. One of the unfortunate effects of the filibuster has been to encourage this conviction. It has given the impression that the majority had as single-minded a view as the minority, and that only the absence of a cloture rule prevented the registration of a clear policy. The picture has been painted in whites and blacks—though most of it was properly gray.

To appreciate this, one has only to review the declarations of those in both houses who gave their support to the bill. Mr. Gardner understood that provision was being made for the arming of ships carrying munitions—"by Germany's own announcement we have a perfect right to sell ammunition to belligerents." But Mr. Focht held that such a course "would be insanity, and I do not think the American people would support any such practice, nor do I believe the President could possibly contemplate anything so extreme." Both of these men voted for the passage of the bill, but clearly with contrary understandings of what it proposed. In the Senate, Mr. Fall was certain that "the President would have the right to place guns and men to man them upon ships carrying munitions." Yet Mr. Lodge, who supported the bill no less vigorously, declared, "I am assuming that the vessels to which we give arms are not carrying contraband. If we deliberately, as a government, put arms on a vessel carrying contraband, and we know it is carrying contraband, of course it is an act of war. I take it that any vessel which is armed by the government will be subjected to careful examination by the officers of the United States to make sure that she is not carrying contraband and that her cargo and voyage are lawful."

The fact is that the supporters of the bill had no one idea of its significance, but interpreted it largely out of their own background. Where the unity was to be found was among the opposition. The thirteen men who voted against the measure in the House, and the twelve Senators who are charged with killing it in a filibuster, had a common

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

understanding of the bill and a single purpose in opposing it: They were resolutely determined not to arm munition ships with government guns and gunners.

However widely discourse wandered during the long debate, here was the central point. Just before the final passage of the bill in the House, the arming of munition ships was presented as a clear and separate issue. Failing in all his earlier amendments, Mr. Cooper, who had led the opposition against the bill, moved that it be recommitted to the Committee on Foreign Affairs with instructions that the following clause be added:

> *Provided,* That no ship of American registry armed in the manner aforesaid shall carry cargo consisting in whole or in part of ammunitions consigned to a belligerent country or to a citizen thereof.

In the excitement aroused by the filibuster, this motion of Mr. Cooper's has almost entirely been lost sight of. Few people, probably, are aware that it was ever made; yet it goes directly to the core of the situation. Mr. Cooper was asking his colleagues to vote on more than a pro forma amendment. He was demanding a show of hands on a very basic issue: What members were not sufficiently convinced that the cause of the Allies was the cause of America to enable them to wink at the implications of "armed neutrality"? Mr. Cooper's motion did not pass. But it received the support, not of thirteen members—but of a hundred and twenty-five.

In every way this vote seems a clearer indication of sentiment than the vote of 403 to 13 which followed a few minutes later. On the question of final passage certain distracting considerations were involved. For one thing there was the certainty of publicity; for another, the query as to whether American commerce ought not be protected—even if, *incidentally,* that protection should serve the cause of the Allies. And chiefly there was the assurance, voiced all through the day by administration leaders on the floor, that the arming of munition ships was not the purpose of the bill. Thus Mr. Flood, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs: "I do not believe the President intends to convoy ships that carry munitions or to supply guns and ammunition to such vessels." The motion made by Mr. Cooper, however, raised no hypothetical queries. It was a sheltered opportunity to express a definite conviction.

That one hundred and twenty-five members—almost a third of the House—should take advantage of it will probably astound many who have been sceptical of any real division existing between those who are willing to take sides in the present war and those who are not. Mr. Cooper was able to secure a roll-call on his motion, and it is possible to analyze the sentiment geographically. Obviously most of the support for a proposal to bar arms and gunners to munition ships would be expected from the West; but no such dramatic divergence of opinion might be anticipated as is shown in this summary:

	Members in the House	Members voting to recommit	Per cent.
New England states.....	32	1	3.1
North Atlantic states.....	98	12	12.2
Southern states	123	21	17.1
Middle Western states....	149	70	46.9
Far Western states.....	33	21	63.6

The conflict in sentiment is even more clearly indicated if a line is drawn down the Appalachian Mountains:

	Members in the House	Members voting to recommit	Per cent.
East	173	14	8.1
West	262	111	42.6

An analysis such as this becomes no mere academic inquiry, when it discloses practically half of the members of the House from west of the Appalachians in opposition to guaranteeing safe transport of munitions to the Allies. It is not an alarming disclosure; it affirms, though strikingly, an opinion that has existed all along. But it points forcefully to the folly of further self-deceit. The condition it reveals shows clearly that only the East can choke down the hypocrisy of "armed neutrality." The country is not at odds over any question of principle; but it will not rise to a catchword so obviously pharisaical. What the West as well as the East is awaiting is an honest avowal that in sharing the burden of keeping the highways to the western Allies open our government is acting in the best interests of our international future.

The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1917, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT, ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER.

EDITORS
HERBERT CROLY WALTER LIPPMANN
PHILIP LITTELL FRANCIS HACKETT
ALVIN S. JOHNSON
GEORGE SOULE—Assistant Editor

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FOUR DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, FIVE DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER. ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pacifism vs. Revolution

A THREE-YEAR old book on social relations now speaks an almost dead language. Many of the radical, progressive, reform and revolutionary workers are still speaking that dead language. They seem unable to recover from the " shell shock " of the explosion of the war upon the world.

It should have been different. The world had a right to expect help and guidance from such thinkers and workers. They had long preached that the old must and should go. They had often predicted that the privileges of property would pass in some social holocaust like that which accompanied the fall of feudal relations.

Revolution is here. Property and property relations are being blown to fragments. The very guardians of vested rights and wrongs are setting them lightly aside. More institutions have been discarded in the past three years than in any previous generation. The radicals who have been praying for the passing of these institutions now look on and weep. The pain and suffering of social travail arouses only sloppy sentimentality. Confronted with their supreme opportunity they wring their hands and pray that it may pass.

I have shared this attitude too recently to judge harshly. I was started on the road to recovery by a casual, clearly unconscious, sentence in a speech of the only avowed revolutionist in Congress—a man in whose sincerity and judgment I have much faith. He said, in effect, if not literally, " If this war is not soon stopped there will be a revolution." He spoke in fear and warning, not in hope. He had spent most of his life and been elected to Congress to accomplish a revolution.

Revolutionist once meant fighter. Only our generation has looked for great social changes without violence. It was a dogma of the old theology, both social and individual, that without shedding of blood there was no remission of sins. Only when the blood-bought machinery of democracy made progress possible through persuasion of majorities was this dogma discarded. The greed-bred wars of commercial imperialism that ·eed men to cannons for profit in war as to fac-ɔries in peace emphasized the new attitude. The ·med squabble of nations for markets, the con-ction of standing armies with industrialism, the of military forces in domestic class war, the alli-e between militarism and reaction, and the sinis-nfluence of munition makers and militarists in rnment roused a righteous hatred of all things ke. Militarism blocks social legislation. It enslaves mind and body, corrupts the state, h democracy, bulwarks every tyranny and bars ev road to social progress. These facts drove pacif and revolutionist into the same camp.

These facts led properly to such an alliance But they are not all the facts. Wars have also been waged for human rights, and social systems have usually died a bloody death. If this war is part of or prelude to the death of an outgrown society why should revolutionists use so much energy in vain efforts to stop the war that none are left to aid the revolution?

There are worse forms of this dazed confusion than plaintive pacifism. Real leaders of social thought have affected superiority to this greatest social struggle. Romain Rolland's Above the Battle pleases me less the more I think upon it. Assuming to be above a battle involving half the race proves primarily preposterous egotism.

It is just those who seek to serve humanity who, in this supreme human crisis, affect an aristocratic aloofness and snobbish neutrality towards its issues. Only colossal conceit, crooked thinking or dazed sensibilities enables avowed humanitarians to believe that a majority of civilized mankind is fighting and sacrificing all without reason or significance for human progress. This is indicting the whole race. It is assuming to be the one sane person in a mad world. This is a common delusion of megalomania. It betrays lack of sympathetic knowledge of humanity by those who most profess such knowledge and sympathy.

Certainly, things have not moved as planned. Democracy, the counting of votes, which was to work the popular will in all things, has, for the moment, been shoved aside by sterner methods of measuring strength. The steady spread of social legislation, extension of the functions and democratization of government, control of privilege, protection of the weak, expropriation and restraint of greed, organization, education and revolt of labor: all the things whose speed and paths we had plotted, now move in new and erratic orbits. We are too dazed to see that they may be moving toward the goal we wished and at greater speed than our reckoning forecast. If a world war was in our philosophy we have forgotten it. We scold at it as an obstacle to our great work. We do not yet see that much for which the world was striving is now rising more and more above the bloody froth of commercial intrigue.

Whatever greedy rivalries lay concealed in the darkness of antecedent diplomacy, the war is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ly becoming a conflict between progress and
on, humanity and savagery, freedom and
ıny. The lines are still confused and some-
s cross the battle-fronts. Great lines of social
sion often do this. The methods of waging
l financing the war, of rousing democratic sac-
ce and securing democratic discipline compelled
ı alignment against military and industrial au-
›cracy.

The war has already cleared away more mental and material obstacles to progress than a century of plodding agitation and legislation would have moved. It is escaping the control of the rulers and diplomats who released it upon the world. It now threatens to devour its creators. In the beginning we all saw this vision. We were sure those August days were the "twilight of the kings." It did not come as predicted. Armies did not return with tyrants' heads upon their bayonets. So we sat and wept over war's horrors, not the least of which was that it dealt with class rule, nationalism and internationalism otherwise than we had foretold.

It is time for radicals, reformers, revolutionists and progressives to recover from their war shock. They should dry their unnoticed and ineffective tears and awake to the fact that unless those who possess special knowledge and ideals of social progress act quickly and wisely in connection with the war-created forces, they will have passed the supreme opportunity of social service.

The internationalist looked to see solidarity gradually grow across boundary lines in revolt against nations. His world state now promises to spring out of a league of nations to resist reckless imperialism. The Allied nations, with sympathetic neutrals, already form such a league of more than half the civilized world. The internationalist must extend, strengthen and humanize this league.

It is time to get to work upon the tasks the war has created. The old ones are gone. Weeping over their going helps nothing. War collectivism must be democratized. Militarism must be assisted to suicide in its last great sin. Millions have died that the trampling war madness might end. It is better to see that they have not died in vain than to bewail their dying. War burdens must become a means of expropriation, not exploitation. Military mobilization at the front and in the shops and on the farms must end in democratic industrial mobilization for peace. The place that has been won for labor in the parliaments of the world must be strengthened and used for the protection of workers when the war has ended. The war need for woman's services must lead to her complete political and social emancipation. The care of peoples in war must show the way to the abolition of poverty in peace.

These are the tasks that the fighters are passing back from the front to those who remain outside the war zone. It is more helpful and dignified to work upon them than to denounce the brutality of those who are giving the last measure of devotion to what they believe is the cause of human progress.

A. M. Simons.

American Tradition in the Address to the Senate

THOSE who are inclined to defend the attitude of the United States during the present war against their red-blooded friends who believe that we should be engaged in it, can sympathize with John Winthrop in the days between his determination to come to America and his sailing. In the careful little arguments which he wrote at that time for circulation among his friends, the dominant note is not one of appeal to join the enterprise, but of excuse for deserting the conflict in England, which the far-seeing anticipated. For the self-respecting man it required courage to incur the charge of cowardice in vacating the battlefield, it required firm conviction to resist the argument that such a movement, by decreasing the forces of Puritanism, was lending strength to the party of the king. Winthrop's reply was that the work of establishing a new church was greater than that of bettering, in some small degree, a church already established. Nor is this to be considered as a narrow or a selfish aim. A new church, swept and garnished, perfect in all its parts, would not exist for itself alone. A light thus set upon the rock of truth, and fed by the day spring from on high, must, of necessity, so shine before men that they would either be drawn to it or would model themselves upon it. A good idea given the power of full self-expression would be more powerful than crushed and moiled in a conflict, where the best that could be hoped within a man's lifetime was partial, half-hearted acceptance and compromise. The triumph of good example, moreover, would be accomplished without the hard feeling of a conquered opponent; the willing acceptance of a demonstrated good would be an insurance against backsliding. Such was th ideal which steeled the hearts of the leaders of th Massachusetts migration as they resisted the r proaches of their neighbors.

The idea of a utopia is almost as old as li ature, and utopian experiments are no new th Some have been purely selfish, that those pa pating in them might enjoy the advantages o ideal life; the majority have been intend

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

models to convert the world by example. The opportunity for such experiments, however, was extremely limited until America was discovered, an unlimited expanse where man might, trammeled only by such minor considerations as Indians and human nature, strive to regain the Eden of his imagination. Early circumstances, however, fenced in large areas of this land lying to be shaped, and funneled the dream builders, for the most part, into what is now the United States.

Hither they came, and are coming. Almost every little region of New England was dedicated by its founders as the site of the only true culture, differing of necessity by degrees, great or small, from all existing cultures. New Haven, Providence, the Connecticut valley, Newport, Warwick, Exeter, and many other communities represented independent attempts to found ideal commonwealths. Every student of New England local history knows how many separate towns were separate, not in geography alone, but in ideas, and the westward expansion of New England was in considerable part impelled by the same desire to build homes not only new but different. Pennsylvania was not only a Quaker experiment in government, but a congeries of separate experiments, by separate though similar faiths, by English, Germans, and Welsh. Maryland was a Catholic experiment under adverse conditions. Georgia was an experiment, not by its colonists, but for them, and the South was dotted with communities self-consciously aiming at a definite conception of life. While the main type of southern civilization, the plantation, was not a preconceived ideal, its form and history were largely determined by the modeling of Virginia customs on the English manor, and the modeling of life elsewhere on Virginia. All through the West one finds communistic experiments, Quaker and Seventh Day Adventist experiments, national experiments; and one of the most picturesque of all these attempts was when the Lion of the Lord led the Mormons across the desert to their far from unsuccessful experiment in Utah. Dowie's Zion is but one of the dozens of recent efforts. New ideas, utopian efforts, have always been good advertising in America, and states—and real estate companies—vie with one another in offering them. The desire for free self-expression has been the Golden Fleece that has attracted countless individuals to adventure the Atlantic.

Fierce and bitter have been the struggles for control within many of these utopias, unrelenting was the weeding to which the dominant party subjected them in our early history, and scorching is the social and business ostracism by which the transformed ideals of to-day are in many places protected. A young utopia is a delicate plant; its early growth must be watched with care; in its maturity it casts a dwarfing shade on rival sprouting growths, its seeds blown broadcast scatter its essence over soils congenial and deadly. But while they have existed in conflict and by coercion, their relations with each other have not been altogether unfriendly. Winthrop regretted the departure of Hooker and his associates, but continued on good terms with them. He drove Roger Williams from Massachusetts as dangerous to that experiment, but kept on friendly terms with him when he was conducting an experiment of his own at a distance.

Moreover, these utopians, so insistent on their right of self-development, so tolerant of each other, early showed a willingness to coöperate. They resisted control of their internal affairs, but were willing to enter agreements, limited in their scope, designed to handle their common problems. In other words, they very early proved their appreciation of the federal form of union, which left each member free to regulate its domestic affairs. All New England, except Rhode Island, early united in such a confederation, while Rhode Island was itself a federal union of the followers of Williams, Gorton, and Coddington. In 1789, the federal plan was adopted by them all. As the federal bond grew stronger, the majority of the utopias sometimes united to crush, or rather to regulate, some one that seemed to exceed the bounds of toleration. Thus slavery was extinguished in the South and polygamy in Utah. Ideals, moreover, grew up about the union itself, and in certain respects the average American believes that the whole country is an experiment, or a proved success, which the world should copy. In no one was this belief stronger than in Lincoln, and thousands still seek our shores with the same belief in their hearts; some to find what they seek, some to suffer from disillusion.

In using the word utopian, I have not assumed the burden of proving that these elements in the American population of whom I have been speaking were either ideal or impractical. None of their visions have been realized completely, few have failed to leave an influence behind, and many of their successes have, as they hoped, reflected their influence back across the Atlantic or ahead to Asia. The American settlers were not better than the neighbors that they left, but, to some extent, they were different. From the normally constituted mass of population there has been a constant tendency for men of a certain type to come to us. To a large degree, our immigrants, and, to a still larger degree, their leaders, have been those who sought freedom of self-expression rather than victory, who believed in the power of example, rather

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than of compulsion. They have nearly all been willing to fight in defense of their ideals, most of them eager to fight on the suspicion of interference with those ideals; but they have not desired to fight to impose their ideas upon others or to engage in the quarrels of others. Their tolerance has not been indifference, but belief in the ultimate triumph of their superior culture; their failure to fight has been due not to cowardice, but to a disbelief in the efficacy of fighting.

Such have been the ideas that have consistently controlled our foreign relations. Long before President Monroe enunciated John Quincy Adams's doctrine, America was distracting the chancelleries of Europe by her failure to show gratitude to France or filial affection for England. In fact, among the many causes of the American Revolution was the Irishman's of insisting upon peace if it came to fighting for it before breakfast. For two generations peace and war and the results of war in America had hung upon the fluctuations of that European Balance of which Americans acquired a growing horror. The independence that they sought was not from Great Britain alone, but from Europe and its parties. But they never sought isolation; they were never neutral in the sense of indifference. With high self-confidence they believed that the free working out of their ideals was of more advantage to the world than their weight on the better side when they believed that neither side was best. No person familiar with American thought can deny that the Monroe Doctrine has meant more to the majority of Americans than self-interest, that it has been an ideal with power to inspire, and that its fundamental principle was inbred in them long before its announcement. Yet neutrality is a dull word, and isolation a delusion. The spirit that gave it life was the spirit in which Winthrop left England. Teaching by example, self-realization as a means of attaining the ideal, are not the only ways of advancing civilization, but they are understandable ideas, they are neither narrow nor mean, and they are the kernel of Americanism in international affairs.

As the guardians of our several social experiments showed no unwillingness, in fact a particular aptitude for mutual coöperation for definite and expanding purposes, so the guardians of our Monroe Doctrine have shown no antipathy for international coöperation. Entangling alliances the father of our country taught us to abhor, but anyone who has studied the treaties from which he was working to disentangle us knows that entangling had a very definite meaning, and his admonition was specific and not intended to encourage our withdrawal within a shell of self-complacency. John Quincy Adams himself coöperated with England, when the interest of the two countries was really mutual. We have on our statute books seven hundred pages of international agreements for the accomplishment of all sorts of international objects, such as the securing of agricultural statistics, the regulation of weights and measures and of health, the formation and support of international courts of arbitration. Nothing in our traditions forbids our entrance into a world federation, nor will our leaders, if they try it, find that it goes against the grain of our people. With our peculiar aptitude for federal arrangements which are able to exert sufficient strength to accomplish their purposes, and yet leave the individual communities with sufficient freedom to develop as their genius prompts them, subject only to restraint within very broad limits, we should in fact be able to supply leadership as well as support. In fact, the development of federalism may prove to be the real American utopia which will convert the world.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

A Brief for the Banal

IN the house from which I am moving dwells a musician. Dwells, did I say? The metaphor is unsound, connoting as it does rest. The musician never rests: her instrument climbs with miraculous energy into the upper air, soars, swoops, to the accompaniment of sobs, shrieks, curses, ending with a crash of propellers snapped and planes shivered. That's done for, you think. But no, the gallant machine pulls itself together with tremendous wheezing and rattling and heads again for the skies. It's a life that musician leads, and she can't last long at it. Who is she? I don't know; I've never seen her. Must you believe me when I say she is a musician, after I have granted that I know nothing of music? Yes, for I subsidized a musician to come to my room and listen, an actual musician, authenticated, pedigreed. He pursed up his lips, contracted his brow, turned his pale eyes inward, as does a connoisseur in liquid fire when he is preparing to confer high guaranty of excellence upon a brandy recondite and antique. "This," he cried, "is the real thing! This is something the old boys never could have done to save their souls. Such music! Those smug music patrons of New York will need new ear-drums before they get this. "Even so," I assented. "What is it, and who composed it—or is compose the right word?" My friend ventured conjectures that could not be far wrong, but I neglected to note the names and titles. I am removing to an-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other abode, and I trust I shall not need the information. Thereby, you say, I am losing a splendid chance to become cultivated free of charge. To be sure, but I am a weedgrown pasture, that would rather not be cultivated than submit to the gashes of the harrow's teeth. I intend to continue to take gross, old-fashioned pleasure out of Beethoven and Mozart, Liszt and Tchaikovsky, and even out of Schubert and Schumann and Rubinstein. What is more, I intend to take most pleasure out of them when they are least like themselves and—pardon the insolence—most like me. Nobody who amounts to anything has the least interest in such music? To be sure, but I don't amount to anything, and the multitudes are with me.

In a western city whose very name is a puff of soft-coal smoke in your throat a powerful railway company has erected a Greek temple to serve as its passenger station. It is a great joy to me, when I descend from my train, en route from the high plains, in mortal fear lest I'm too late to make connections, struggling against the importunities of the red caps who would rob me of my suit-case, the only thing that holds me down to the ground in my mad hurry. There is a delicious half light in the deep dome, if one had but time to glance up at it, and the Ionic columns, resolute under their stupendous burden, would speak eloquently of eternity if the clatter and noise would but hush for one moment. That temple is all wrong. Some day an architect with creative power will replace it with a structure that speaks, not of serene gods and goddesses who ages ago fled shrieking behind the ramparts of heaven, but of nostalgia for the horizon, of speed and noise and clouds of smoke evolving, one out of the other, toward a grimy sky. I shall not like it. Oh, yes, I know; it will stand there until I have become used to it, have admired, have revered; and then some architect will employ the idea in erecting a hall of philosophy or a cathedral, out of deference to me and my kind. But for the present, I reaffirm, I delight in the Greek temple railway station.

One more confession, and I have done. Listen: I like this:

> A thousand years their cloudy wings expand
> Around me, and a dying glory smiles
> O'er the far times, when many a subject land
> Look'd to the winged Lion's marble piles
> Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred isles.

"Good God!" you exclaim. "It's ages since anybody who is anything got a thrill from such stuff as that." I agree. It is also ages since anybody who is anything experienced a thrill from the first bounding wild creature that fell to his rifle, from the first lady who smiled to his sighs. Such experiences come to you before you are anybody. They are none the less the most vivid experiences of life. Match them, if you can, in your stage of urbane sophistication, when you are somebody. I, who remain nobody in the trades in which you excel, shall continue to exult, unashamed, in what has become banal to you.

Every man to his trade: what is mine? With due humility and full recognition of its inferiority in the true scale of values, I avow it to be that of economist. In economics, too, there are great names that have come down out of the past. Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, Mill; is it conceivable that anybody reads their works? It is not conceivable to me. There are creators of economic systems still with us and therefore still to be convicted or acquitted of the charge of greatness: Marshall, Taussig, Seligman, Fisher. Do I read their works as they fall from the press? Only under the whip of conscience. I know their manner. Give me their problem and premises, and I shall be very near possession of their conclusions. The reading gives me only the colorless and barren pleasure of verification. What I read seriously is that badly written monograph of Adolph Knopf, Ph.D., on the sources and distribution of quebracho. Or those fascinating essays of Professor Callitrichoff, in which he rediscovers Victor Hugo's thesis that the energy of Rome all seeped away through the Cloaca Maxima, for want of proper methods of conservation of the soil. You can't account for my taste in reading? If you had to read economics, you would prefer to devote your time to the great men, or if there are none such, at least the greater? You find it more worth while to gaze upon the dead lion than to watch the antics of the live mouse? I smile upon you pityingly, just as you smile on me, when I expose my preferences in music, architecture or poetry.

Is it not time that we, the inexpert public, assert our independence? We are the majority, or rather the totality, for everyone is of the inexpert public except for the narrow gully of his particular craft where he has dug himself in. We want the banal; let us have it without being required to submit to the stigma of inferiority. We don't want the experimental, the original, the recondite. You can bully a lot of us into a simulation of interest in the newest trend, but only at the price of our real interest in anything. Or if not at this price to us, at a heavier price to you. We shall employ critics to flagellate you for failing to please us. We shall run down a number of you and enslave you to our purposes. If you will not grant us independence, neither shall you be free.

But grant us the legitimacy and respectability

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of our hunger for the banal, and we shall recognize in you the glory accorded to the pathfinder. Organize yourselves in guilds; dazzle your fellow craftsmen with your genius. They will pay you richly in the discoverer's own coin, envy. Out of your strife will emerge, now and then, something capable of becoming banal. Sell it to us: we will cheerfully buy. Be content that the rest shall remain the priceless heritage of the elect.

ALVIN S. JOHNSON.

Parliament and Democracy

THE British nation has for generations entertained a simple and definite conception of democracy. We meant by this word government by representative institutions. We did not debate it or discuss it; we assumed it, for we were barely aware that any other conception might be entertained. In France on the contrary the idea maintains itself by combat. Like every mental creature which has to live by strife, it is the sturdier for this experience. In France at least two contrary notions of democracy struggle with the representative idea. There is the Napoleonic tradition of "plebiscitary democracy." A nation may by a mass vote delegate almost unlimited power to a superman, in whom it feels its own genius incarnated. First Consul, or Emperor or President, he is by that act of consecration raised to an eminence which no incoherent body of representatives could gainsay. The tradition lived in spite of the solidity of the Third Republic, and it spoke loudly when M. Poincaré was elected. Another conception of democracy in action, fresher and deeper than this, but equally perilous, appeared in the theories of M. Sorel and the syndicalists. It substituted the violent action of the mass in a state of emotional fusion, for the orderly work of the ballot-box. It contended that masses when they act together in strikes or revolutions acquire a super-personality, a true corporate life: the voter is an individual still, poor and mean in his isolation, and in the summing of individual wills it refused to see the fiat of a nation. French democracy lived dangerously against these two theories, but its vitality gained by competition and debate. It escaped the death-in-life of an institution which takes itself for granted.

We in England have suddenly awakened to the perception that the whole traditional relation of democracy and Parliament is challenged. The challenge is the more bewildering because there is no battle of theories. The challenge has come suddenly from the enigmatic personality of Mr. Lloyd George. He has framed no theory, and advanced no pretensions. Like the rest of us, he never dreamed of speculating on the meaning of representation. I would wager that he has never heard of M. Sorel, nor given five minutes' thought to the theoretical question. Three years ago he was our arch-democrat. It suited him then to work with the traditional machinery. It does not suit him to-day, and empirically, unconsciously, he has become a greater innovator than any French theorist. The suggestion that he is doing anything that involves first principles would probably surprise him. First principles are not the things he lives with. He looked around him; he measured his own powers; he weighed his antagonists, and he devised the democratic technique which suited himself. He has chosen to ignore Parliament; he prefers to rely on speeches to mass meetings and on an organized press. The reason? The reason is not any theory about democracy. It is merely that his own authority over Parliament is slight, while his ascendancy over crowds is unmatched. His rivals are in the opposite case. Mr. Asquith and Lord Grey (while he was still a commoner) could do anything with the House of Commons. Neither of them could stir a mass meeting. He happens to possess the bigger and more popular newspapers. The Liberal press, for long unfortunate, is now at the lowest measure of its influence. The decision to behave as though representative institutions counted for very little in democracy is, in fact, like everything which Mr. Lloyd George does, an opportunist calculation, the haphazard inspiration of the moment, and the expression of his own wayward individuality. It may work, none the less, it is in fact working, far more effectively, far more potently, than any doctrinaire theory could do. It seems to succeed, and while it succeeds, the slow decay of Parliament is so accelerated that some big organic change will be needed to arrest it. What has really given to Mr. George's experiment an aspect of deliberation and permanence is that he is resisting the means by which Parliament might adapt itself to modern requirements. Its decline is not his work. That had followed inexorably from the growing autocracy of Cabinets. He merely recognized the facts. The plain fact is that Parliament is no longer in effect the maker and arbiter of governments. The House of Commons had never by a vote shown its lack of confidence of the old Liberal government. It had never by a vote demanded

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the fall of the Coalition. It acquiesces in the changes that take place behind the scenes. It accepts any combination which Lord Northcliffe and the elder statesmen impose upon it. Its influence on the vital changes at the center of the power is as negligible as was the Duma's. It is drifting into the position of a consultative assembly, which need hardly be consulted.

Mr. George saw that Parliament is an obsolescent institution, and he had the audacity to parade his perception of the fact. His constitutional experiments were sufficiently bold. For the old Cabinet he has given us a Directorate. The Directorate, with its daily meetings, turns out to be a fiction. How often, in fact, it meets, one does not know; but Lord Milner disappears to Petrograd; Lord Curzon vanishes for a honeymoon; Mr. Henderson goes on a speaking tour, and Mr. George himself rotates between Downing Street, North Wales and Boulogne. We have a government of eighty ministers, which never meets in council. Of the various " dictators " who regulate food, agriculture, shipping and labor, some have not even a nominal seat in Parliament. Mr. George himself addresses it about as often as Mr. Wilson, in these times of crisis, addresses Congress. He is too busy, we are told, to do more; but he is not too busy to speak to frequent meetings outside it. He more nearly resembles an American President than a British Premier—with this vital difference, that he has never been elected.

In all these changes the biggest and the most significant is the abandonment of the tradition that the British Premier is the leader of the House of Commons. Hitherto his primary rôle had been, in debate, in close contact with his own followers behind him, and looking into the eyes of the opposition, to frame and defend and explain a policy which was the expression of the corporate will of the House. The pretense, even the fiction of that conception of democracy is gone. The House may question and debate and it may still vote. It might in theory rebel, and assert its sovereign power. In practice it is too depressed, too bored, too intimidated even to dream of self-assertion. The reason is simple. The country has acquiesced in Mr. George's reading of its nullity, and the House knows that the country has acquiesced. The visible sign of its acquiescence is that the press no longer troubles to give an intelligible or impartial report of debates. Mr. Dillon in a long and powerful speech made some startling revelations about the pressure which prepared the unlucky entry of Rumania into the ranks of the Entente. His charges and his questions were ignored by the spokesmen of the government, and they were omitted in all the reports and sketches of the daily press. A brilliant little group of guerillas struggles to keep up a useful and constructive critical debate. They too are ignored in the press. The reason is partly that the dearness and scarcity of paper has forced newspapers to economize space, but this hardly explains the silence of the descriptive sketch-writers who throw away, day after day, this good journalistic " copy." The effect on Parliament is of course to deepen its apathy. It has lost all spirit, and the very men who in private talk angrily of the contempt in which Parliament has fallen, none the less refrain in public from the fighting tactics which alone might revive it. When by chance they do speak, Mr. George's press shouts " silence," under such choice headlines as " Gag the old Gang! " or else it attempts to impose inaction by blackmail, and threatens retrospective revelations. The opposition will not oppose, because any resolute opposition would be met by the threat of a general election. That seems to imply that the " country " is behind Mr. George.

The tendency of any British electorate in wartime is always to support the administration of the day with small regard to its merits or its policy. It would have backed the old Coalition. It probably would back Mr. George. A vision of the hoardings sweeps across the mind. " A vote against Lloyd George is a vote for the Kaiser." We went through this kind of thing in the Boer War, and our Liberal leaders, whose fault is not audacity, may be pardoned if they shrink from it. They have not prepared the country to agree with them. They have done nothing whatever during the war to educate it; only in stray phrases have they preached a constructive peace; they have not by one public word rebuked the fanatics of vengeance and conquest; they have allowed the case for free trade to go by silence and default; they have done nothing effective to further the idea of a League of Nations. An immense moral and intellectual cleavage separates the best of them in their conception of the settlement and the international future from Lord Northcliffe and Mr. George; but they cherish their convictions like a guilty secret. For my part I believe that the " country " would follow gladly any experienced statesman who dared to lead it, with sanity and caution, towards such a peace as Mr. Wilson has outlined. But the country will not follow silence. It is just possible that in spite of the timidity of Parliament, in spite of the painful anxiety of the Liberal opposition not to provoke the government by word or deed, Mr. George will none the less precipitate a " khaki " election. For the moment the threat serves him as well as the election itself.

By two clear signals the present government

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has shown that its attitude towards Parliament is something more than a phase which will pass with the war. It has decisively rejected the proposal to set up departmental committees of control, and the latest indications are that it does not intend to proceed with the reform of the franchise. The first of these expedients would have given the House of Commons real work and real power. Our Parliament is almost the only European chamber which lacks these institutions. It cannot in public debate exert any real influence on any phase of the policy of the war. It knows nothing of the secret diplomacy, and makes only spasmodic efforts to extract information, which are always foiled by a magisterial gesture. It is almost as powerless to influence or deflect military or economic policy. It votes money by hundreds of millions of pounds after an hour's rambling discussion. It knows that its procedure is hopelessly obsolete, and that knowledge avails to silence it. Occasional contact with French deputies during the war has at last convinced the rank and file that the only way to restore the authority of Parliament is to adopt the Continental plan, by which select committees of members work at the details of administration and finance, in businesslike private sittings with ministers. Mr. George in his first speech to the House as Premier gave his blessing to this idea. He has since allowed it to be vetoed, curtly and finally. A cowed and inert Parliament does not even ask him to state his reasons. There, no doubt, he gave way to his conservative colleagues. One does not see Lord Curzon consenting to share his power with a committee of the Commons. Mr. George will surrender even more vital beliefs than this before his alliance with his present colleagues comes to an end.

The second indispensable step for the restoration of representative institutions is that the franchise itself should be reformed. Apart from the emancipation of women, morally by far the biggest of many advances proposed by the speaker's conference, the chief gains which it seemed to have secured, were the adoption of proportional representation in urban areas, and the reduction of the costs of election. These two steps, taken together, would go far to break the party machines, to restore the independence of members, to give vitality and assurance to minority groups, and to end the dictation of the whips who administer the party funds. Once more it is probable that Mr. George is himself in favor of these reforms. But it is fairly certain now that he will not lift a finger to introduce legislation, and failing determined insistence by the Opposition (which is faintly possible), it is even unlikely that he will allow the House itself to legislate. The reason, I imagine, is purely tactical. If once a Reform bill were drafted, and the necessary machinery set up for the redistribution of electoral areas in accordance with population (a difficult and lengthy piece of work), there could be no general election for twelve months or more. During these twelve months the House would be free. It could vote as it pleased, and it would be master of the situation. That is the real obstacle in the way of electoral reform. It precludes a "khaki" election, and what is still more important, it would rob the administration of the power to use a khaki election as a means of intimidation. No disinterested citizen wants an election while half the electorate is under arms, and every honest democrat wishes that when an election does take place in the early days of peace, it shall accurately reflect the real opinions of the whole country, and of women as well as men.

It is chance and tactics rather than theory which have ranged Mr. George against the only expedients which can restore the vitality of Parliament. Meanwhile, because Parliament is morally dead, he goes to work to create a new style of pseudo-democracy. He gathers the weaker labor leaders round himself and purchases their independence with office. He flings to the masses a few light phrases which reflect the passing mood. He manages the popular press. He creates an atmosphere in which it is assumed that the people is with him. Parliament he ignores as an obsolete institution. It is the technique of plebiscitary democracy—without the plebiscite.

H. N. Brailsford.

London, March.

Internationalist—Old Style

IT was a long time before I understood what was in the back of Sterry's mind. At first I thought it was the usual warm, but not too warm, humanitarianism. That was some years ago, when the peace movement was heard of no oftener than, say, the single tax. Sterry had been almost radical enough to join the Socialist party, he once thought of doing social work, and he never contributed a cent to any philanthropy. He wrote a few magazine articles which he believed subversive, but they didn't subvert anything. He did have, however, a thin and intense vein of emotion about issues which were not pressing. He was strongly anti-imperialist. His most vivid interest was in arbitration treaties and Hague conferences. As this was long before the present war, the whole matter seemed to me, I must confess, remote and a bit impractical. He used to become indignant with me when I expressed doubts as to whether all

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nations would voluntarily arbitrate all questions. He had an exalted faith in internationalism—nations, he said, were merely gigantic bluffs which would dissolve under stress. All that was necessary was to get nations to agree to settle their disputes by arbitrament, and the underlying good will of everybody would be trusted to make them carry out their agreements when the time came.

In spite of my doubts I grew sympathetic and on the various occasions when Germany refused to sign arbitration treaties with the United States, stood outside of international agreements at The Hague, and refused England's proposal for a naval holiday, I went to Sterry with my resentment. I was always surprised to find, however, that he did not regard Germany's defection seriously. It was all a matter of time, he said. We must be generous and not blame her; we must wait till she came around.

When the war broke out, Sterry, like all the rest of us, was overcome with surprise and horror. At first he loudly denounced Germany for her invasion of Belgium, and Austria for not accepting arbitration over the Serbian question. But soon the outcry became too one-sided for him, and he proclaimed that the militarism of the Central Powers was merely an incident of everybody's militarism, that no one in particular was to blame, and that the real criminal was war. Every atrocity was just a regrettable but unavoidable incident of war. The only solution was to abolish war. I could see a good deal of justice in this position, in spite of my belief that Germany was the primary culprit. Of course, the thing to do was to create a situation where culprits of this sort would not so easily arise. It was quite possible that Germany's belligerency had arisen partially on account of somebody else's injustice. But this threw me back on my original doubt about arbitration treaties being the best way to avoid war. They would do nothing but impose an artificial feeling of security, provided, as evidently was the case, we were living under an international system—or lack of system—where some Power would not remain satisfied with the status quo. I mentioned my reflections to Sterry, and he agreed in a vague way, but I could see they didn't make much impression on him.

He was more interested at the moment in arousing a world-wide sentiment in favor of peace. At that time the Allies had not even begun to reach their full power in attempts to throw back the German invasions. It seemed to me, therefore, that peace efforts would not convert the Allies, but Sterry went ahead. War and militarism, he said, were strengthening the influences of domestic reaction everywhere, and must be stopped at all costs.

About this time the Lusitania was sunk, and anti-German feeling in this country reached its climax. The preparedness movement was also in full swing. Sterry quickly saw his duty, and did it. As a counter-irritant he began to distribute the German arguments about the inhumanity of the British blockade, in its attempt to starve out a whole country. He was right, of course—the blockade was inhuman, as was all war. This made me burrow again into the schemes for avoiding war in the future. It was the reason I became one of the early adherents of the League to Enforce Peace. Here was a proposal which not only specified arbitration, but backed it up by the force of the community, and which, moreover, suggested ways to alter the status quo by peaceful means in accordance with the public good. I thought this solution of the questions Sterry had raised in my mind would interest him. He didn't say much about the plan at first. Several months later, however, he interrupted his peace propaganda long enough to read an article on it. His verdict was that it was all right except the provision for the use of force. He was against force. When I pointed out to him that force was already in use, and that the only way to prevent its being used by single nations like Germany in attempts to achieve their ends was to engage it on the side of public law, he lectured me about the horrors of war and the British blockade, and went back to his peace propaganda. I admit I was disappointed, but I hoped he would eventually see the point.

Then came that memorable month of peace notes. Germany announced herself victorious and asked for a conference, without specifying any terms. President Wilson wrote his identical note to the belligerents, asking them to name their objects in the war, and their attitude toward future international organization. The Allies answered Germany, stating they could not go blindly into a conference with an aggressor who believed herself victorious. Germany answered President Wilson, saying she could not state her terms, and would take up international organization only after the peace treaty had been made. The Allies answered President Wilson, stating their terms, and expressing strongly their immediate interest in international organization. Then President Wilson addressed the Senate, pledging American aid to a just international system. Germany said nothing more.

All this seemed to clear up the situation immensely. Plainly, internationalism had been acknowledged as one of the issues of the war. Germany had declared for peace with victory, and she had not pledged herself to internationalism. The Allies had published a maximum draft of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their terms, and had pledged themselves to internationalism. So had we. I went to Sterry much pleased, but was surprised to find him antagonistic. He didn't believe the President had promised our force for the maintenance of future peace, but if so, he was against the President. His principal emotion was anger at the Allies for rejecting Germany's offer of a conference. At this moment it occurred to me for the first time that there was a curious correspondence between Sterry's emotions and the aims of military Germany, and that he wasn't thinking much about internationalism.

When Germany announced the submarine blockade, I saw that the moment for our decision had come. If we acquiesced, we gave Germany positive aid in her final attempt to defeat the Allies. If we did not acquiesce, we ran the risk of war with Germany. In a choice between these two there was only one possibility, for an internationalist. Germany was clearly not international in her views when the war started, and she had not become so. The Allies, however, had declared for internationalism. To be sure, I could not endorse all their possible ambitions, but still less could I endorse Germany's. Here was the chance to make our resources count for internationalism, definitely and perhaps decisively. Then we could have our say in the peace that was to come.

Sterry, however, was wholly apathetic. We should not consider, he said, the effect of our action on the belligerents. We were not in danger of invasion; why should we bestir ourselves? We must avoid war at all costs. The causes and issues of the war were not our concern. When the Zimmermann note to Mexico was published, he thought it a clever move of self-defense on Germany's part. It was a lesson to us not to trouble ourselves about Europe. I pointed out to him that he had been concerning himself about Europe rather vigorously, and that a possible result of our inaction now would be a complete German victory, with annexations. I did not see how his policy of anti-imperialism could reconcile itself with wholesale conquest by the one nation which was against peace treaties and arbitration. Then he challenged me to point out a single evil effect even if Germany should conquer everything. At this point I gave him up. His internationalism had become the passive counterpart of German imperialism. The cure for war was to let Germany own the world.

The last time I saw Sterry was immediately after the Russian Revolution. I asked him about the relation between war and domestic reaction. He dodged the question by the assertion that I was paying too much attention to a world which was already bankrupt. "What we need," he said, "is an entirely new conception." He spoke as if he could blow out a new conception like a soap-bubble which would beautifully supersede the bankrupt world. He spoke as if he were a divinity who could create a universe by thinking of it. It was the most enlightening remark he had ever made. It showed me that Sterry's real motive was neither humanitarian, nor pacific, nor German. What was at the bottom of his activity was irrepressible aversion to realities. His chief need was to avoid issues, to create or imagine an automatic balance between forces in this world so that he could play undisturbed in his fancy. It showed me that if his purposes should ever cross another's he would be persuaded by nothing but force, and that force would persuade him of anything. It showed me that if the policy of the pacific nations were dictated by their Sterrys, Germany would be right and war would be eternal.

GEORGE SOULE.

CORRESPONDENCE

Benevolent Neutrality?

SIR: The New Republic continues each week to reiterate that our government's "reading of the neutrality law, since the war began, has been partial to England"; that "we have never been honestly neutral"; and that, with such a record behind us, "armed neutrality as a permanent policy would be tantamount to using force to support a subterfuge." A recognition of this supposed truth is declared to be the first requisite to a proper understanding of the present posture of our international relations. It can, therefore, scarcely be a waste of time to devote some consideration to the question whether an assertion to which you attach so great importance has any basis in fact. The assertion has already been challenged by the present writer and by another correspondent. Your editorial pages in recent issues have accordingly given some intimation of the reasons which appear to you to justify such statements as have been quoted. May I beg of your courtesy the privilege of commenting briefly on these reasons?

1. "We have acquiesced in the British blockade; we have evinced a readiness to go all lengths to curb the submarine. We have foregone the right we claimed to send bread to Germany. We have insisted on our right to send munitions to England." Upon these sentences, the following remarks are pertinent:

(a) Our government has not "acquiesced" in the British "blockade," if "acquiescence" means acceptance without vigorous protest of such features of it as are of questionable legality.

(b) If "acquiescence" means toleration under protest, but without war or breach of diplomatic relations, we have acquiesced in no acts on the part of Great Britain which we have refused to permit on the part of Germany. In so far as the attempted German blockade of Great Britain has been carried on—as the effective British blockade of Germany has—without loss of American lives and with due regard to the rule of visit and search, we have in no way interfered with it. It is true that cer-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tain acts—such as the detaining and searching of first-class mails—have been committed by British officials, for which the Germans have lacked opportunity. But there is not a particle of evidence that, if the Germans had attempted similar methods, our government would not have been equally tolerant. It is also true that German submarine commanders have committed many acts—such as the destruction of mails, and of neutral vessels carrying cargoes to neutral ports—of which the British have been innocent (though *not* for lack of opportunity); towards these much graver German illegalities, we have also been acquiescent.

(c) We have done nothing to "curb the submarine," until months after the submarine commanders had begun to do what no British commander has ever done—kill American passengers and seamen on merchant ships.

(d) We have never "foregone our right to send bread to Germany" in any sense parallel to that in which we have "insisted upon our right to send munitions to England." With regard to munitions, we have merely refused to pass laws forbidding munition-carrying vessels to sail from our ports. But we have likewise passed no law forbidding vessels carrying foodstuffs to sail from our ports. "Bread" has not reached Germany simply because it has been subject to capture as contraband by British cruisers, operating under the recognized rules for safeguarding the lives of non-combatants. It has been equally open to Germany to capture both "bread" and munitions as contraband, so long as her commerce-destroyers and submarines operated under equally humane rules. The fact that Germany has not taken much advantage of this privilege is not due to any lack of impartiality on the part of our government, but to the inferiority of the German navy. The New Republic curiously finds evidence of the insincerity of our neutrality in a state of things which is the obvious and inevitable consequence of the inequality between the British and the German sea power.

2. "American lives would almost certainly have been lost had we refused to agree to Great Britain's 'blockade' as we have to Germany's 'war-zone' decree." Positive assertions as to what "would have been" in circumstances which have not occurred, are undeniably an easy, though scarcely a conclusive, mode of argument. Unfortunately, in this case the supposititious circumstances *have* occurred, and the assertion has therefore been put to the proof. American and other neutral vessels have at various times attempted to disregard the British blockade. These vessels, if detected by the British blockading squadron, have been peaceably conducted to British ports and there examined; no injury has come to anyone aboard them.

3. "Inhumanity is not the real difference [between the conduct of Germany and that of Great Britain]. . . . Nor is there any reason for regarding the submarine war as more deadly than the blockade of Germany. It is well to remember that the German people are suffering anguish as a result of it." It happens, however, that the submarine is deadly to Americans, while the British blockade is deadly, if to any, only to inhabitants of belligerent countries. Does The New Republic regard this as a distinction irrelevant to a consideration of our neutrality? Or is it maintained that, if we are to intervene in the war in the name of humanity, we ought to consider the wrongs and sufferings of other nations not less than our own—and that this is what "neutrality" really requires? In that case, the inference is not that we have fallen short of neutrality by acquiescing in the British blockade of Germany; it is that our failure to fulfil the duties of a high-minded neutral began on August 3rd, 1914, when we permitted the violation of Belgium without a protest. After we had acquiesced in silence in that crime, no "anguish" suffered by the German people could be any concern of our government. It had committed itself to taking cognizance only of acts of inhumanity of which Americans were victims. And such acts have been committed by Germany alone.

Proof of our supposed departure from a genuine neutrality, in order to favor the Allies, is thus wholly lacking. Our peace-loving government has suffered many injuries from both belligerents without resort to arms. But it has drawn the line at the unlawful taking of American lives and at wholesale piracy on the high seas. That line has been overstepped by one of the belligerents. Such is the complete explanation of the present crisis in our foreign relations.

On the other hand it would be easy, if space permitted, to show that, in the first important effort of our government to influence the conduct of maritime war—*viz.*, Mr. Bryan's identic note of February 20th, 1915, to Great Britain and Germany—the proposals made were heavily weighted in favor of the latter Power.

A. O. LOVEJOY.

Baltimore, Maryland.

[NOTE: In the foregoing letter Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy protests once more against our characterization of the policy hitherto pursued by the American government as one of benevolent neutrality. He accuses us of finding evidence of the insincerity of American "neutrality in a state of things which is the obvious and inevitable consequence of the inequality between British and the German sea power." His argument attributes to The New Republic something like an absurdity in order to convict it of an error, but inasmuch as the issue raised by him is very much misunderstood, has many difficult and obscure aspects and yet is of enormous importance, it seems worth while to explain again why and how the ostensibly neutral attitude assumed by the American government towards the Allies has been really benevolent.

The New Republic has never traced the benevolence of American neutrality to a disposition on the part of our government to permit "acts on the part of Great Britain which we refused to permit on the part of Germany." The two Powers have encroached in very different ways upon the rights which previous to the war the citizens of neutral states were supposed to enjoy under international law, and the consequences wrought upon American interests have been very dissimilar. The dissimilarity is obviously associated with "the inequality between British and German sea power," but the actual consequences do not flow inevitably and exclusively as well as obviously from the inequality. They depended upon the way in which the American government used the large measure of discretionary authority which it could legally exercise in the premises. The policy adopted by the United States was more influential in determining the facts and the values of the divergent relationships existing between the United States and Great Britain and the United States and Germany than was any inequality in sea power. The American policy was adopted with hesitation and without any clear prevision of its probable consequences, but as these consequences developed they were accepted with increasing resolution. It consisted in brief of allowing British encroachments to continue and increase with only a verbal protest, while at the same time insisting on the cessation of German encroachments. It became as em-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

phatically a policy of differential neutrality and produced much the same practical effects as if the United States, after the violation of Belgium, had placed an embargo on all trade with Germany.

Mr. Lovejoy accounts for the discrimination against Germany on the usual grounds. The submarine is deadly to the Americans while the British blockade is deadly, if to any, only to the inhabitants of belligerent countries. He asks us whether we regard the distinction as irrelevant to a consideration of our neutrality. Of course we do not regard it as irrelevant; but neither do we regard it as sufficient or decisive. If Great Britain had stayed out of the war, if Germany by virtue of her superior sea power had placed an illegal interdict on all American commerce with her enemies, if France in desperation, because of a treacherous invasion through Belgium, had seized the weapon of the submarine and had torpedoed German vessels with Americans on board or even American vessels en route to Germany, the policy of the American government should have been and in our opinion would have been different. That under such conditions our government would have threatened war on France and placed American resources at the disposal of Germany to be used in making herself the dominant Power on the continent of Europe is inconceivable. Under the supposed conditions the American policy should and would have been determined not by the less objectionable consequences wrought upon American citizens by the German as compared to the French violations of international law, but by an American estimate of the comparative danger or value to the world of the objects for which the two groups of belligerents were fighting. So it has actually been during the present war. The decisive American grievance against Germany does not consist in the killing of American citizens as the incidental result of her only possible method of maritime warfare. The killing could always have been prevented by keeping American citizens out of danger. It consists in the fact that American lives are being taken in the pursuit of political objects which are repugnant to American ideals. By withdrawing Americans from the high seas at the present time we would brand ourselves as the accomplice of German aggression in Europe.

If the political objects for the realization of which the Germans are waging war had been less repugnant to American ideals and the American government had taken seriously and scrupulously the obligation of neutrality, it must have pursued an entirely different policy. The United States is the traditional and natural protector of those neutral rights upon which, ever since the beginning of the war, Great Britain has been steadily encroaching. Its perpetuity as a democracy depends on the existence of a body of international law whose authority shall be recognized by nations in their intercourse one with another. The body of law upon which Great Britain began to encroach had traditionally been considered of the utmost importance not merely to the prosperity but to the independence of the American nation. They constituted the world's bill of rights as against British maritime supremacy. The final result of the British encroachments has been to render worthless all the restrictions acquired at so much cost during the centuries which hampered the ability of the mistress of the seas to suppress commerce during war; and this suppression has been effected without any more consideration of neutral interests than of ordinary humane considerations. American citizens as neutral traders have no rights left on the high seas which a dominant naval power is bound to respect. As Professor Hart has said: "The humiliating truth is that Great Britain has applied to the commerce of the United States such limitations and restrictions as were never practised in the worst times of Napoleonic wars—ordained a system of passes and permits which if tried against the United States in time of peace would cause a war with Great Britain." Yet the government of the United States has done nothing to safeguard these rights, except to make written protests against the illegality of the British encroachments. The existence of these protests in the record may supply American negotiators with ammunition for argument in negotiations at the end of the war, but no mere protestations or arguments give vitality to rights which in practice have been allowed to die.

Nor is this all. The German submarine campaign was started expressely as a measure of retaliation against the interdict upon all maritime trade between Germany and the outside world. The government of the United States had declared this interdict to be illegal. The Germans in resisting with submarines were protesting against it with their only possible maritime weapon; and inasmuch as they were fighting for American rights as well as against a policy of defeating the men of a nation by starving its women and children, the Germans might not unnaturally have anticipated American connivance rather than American opposition. It is true that they themselves were encroaching on the same body of law, for the benefit of which they claimed to be using their submarines; but were they not driven into this course by the calculated negligence of the American government? We could have resisted British encroachments at once legally and effectively, whereas Germany was obliged to do it illegally and with an imperfect weapon. Considering what all the facts of the controversy were, the American government if it had honestly wished to be neutral, would have adopted one of two policies. It would either have placed an embargo on the export of munitions to the Allies until Great Britain allowed us to send foodstuffs to the civil population of Germany, or else it would have recognized the submarine campaign as the only possible German weapon of retaliation against British encroachments on the international bill of rights and have consented to it as long as the British interdict lasted. Honest neutrality would have prevented us from allowing one belligerent to reap from American subservience benefit which was denied to another. Considering the indissoluble connection between the two policies of encroachment, we should as sincere neutrals have enforced our rights against both groups of belligerents or against neither.

An analogy may help to clarify and emphasize this view of the situation. Let us suppose a prolonged and costly strike by a large body of wage-earners. Let us suppose the employers owned the local magistrates and police and used the power to arrest certain leaders in the strike and put them illegally in jail. Let us suppose an admission by the state industrial commission of the illegality of these practices. Let us suppose, however, that the industrial commission had not the will or the power to interfere, and that the strikers were in danger both of being starved into submission and of being permanently deprived of their jobs by the employment of strike-breakers. Let us suppose that the strikers in desperation adopted a policy of violence and not only assaulted strike-breakers but increased the effectiveness of the assault by methods which incidentally injured innocent bystanders. Finally let us suppose the state sought to extinguish this violence by every means in its power, but continued to ignore the illegality of the practices

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which had provoked or could be alleged to have provoked the violence. Let us suppose finally that this policy on the part of the state government was announced as one of scrupulous neutrality which robbed strikers of any grievance against the state. If under such conditions the apparent discriminations in a state policy against the strikers was justified on the ground that the illegality of the employers had only injured the strikers while the violence of the strikers had injured innocent people, would not the justification strike an honest man as hypocritical and obnoxious?

The foregoing analogy is not overstrained. It represents the facts of the controversy between Germany and the United States, as those facts are envisaged by Germans. It represents the actual facts of the controversy in so far as the obligation of protecting American rights under international law has ever since the war began been the supreme obligation of the American government. What it ignores is the verdict of American public opinion upon the objects for which the belligerents are respectively fighting. The real reason why the American government could not threaten an embargo on munitions for the purpose of preventing British encroachments on the rights of American citizens was American repugnance to a course of action which might promote the success of Germany and the defeat of the Allies. The real reason why the government must insist by the use of force in keeping American boats and American citizens traveling on the high seas is that by withdrawing them we should become the accomplice of the nation which not exclusively but still preponderantly is responsible for this hideous calamity. "Woe to him by whom the offense cometh." It would be ridiculous for the United States to join with the violator of Belgium in attempting to give authority to the status quo ante bellum of international law. It would be humiliating for the United States to abandon all responsibility for the enforcement of international right and to place exclusively in the hands of Great Britain the protection and security of maritime communication during war. Only by associating ourselves frankly with the Allies can we get rid of the hypocrisy and ambiguity of a false position. Only by so doing can we make American naval and commercial power count effectively and immediately on behalf of order. Only by so doing can we earn an indefeasible right to insist upon having American interests, which happen to be in this relationship exclusively international, consulted in framing a settlement. Only by so doing can we redeem the unneutrality of our attitude towards Germany and do something effective to soothe the inevitable sting of German resentment at the important and probably decisive results of American discrimination against her. For if the influence of the United States could be made to count in favor of a better organization of international order and justice Germany no less than other nations would be protected against suffering undeserved and unjust consequences from her own transgressions.

—The Editors.]

Armed Merchantmen

SIR: In the letter which you published on March 17th Polonius says that the unfortunate ladies who lost their lives in the sinking of the Laconia were "poorly advised," and that the fact that some of them were neutrals "cannot enlarge the ship's rights." The plain implication in these words is that the Laconia, being an armed merchantman, had no right to a warning before being attacked. The ship, says Polonius, had, by her armament, assumed a "full belligerent status," incident to which was the danger of being fired upon without warning, and consequently American citizens traveling upon her cannot complain of the consequences of their rashness. The difficulty with this argument lies in the meaning and truth of the premises.

The phrase "full belligerent status" is somewhat ambiguous. It may mean the status of a warship, or it may mean merely the status of any merchant ship owned by a belligerent subject. It is perhaps simpler to approach the question from the other side; that is to say, by ascertaining what ships are liable to attack without warning, and then classifying the Laconia. Before this war it was undoubted law that an attack without warning upon an unarmed merchantman not attempting to escape was illegal, and this has been the constant contention of our government in its controversy with Germany. It was also clear law that such an attack upon a warship was both proper and desirable. The Laconia, however, was not a warship, being without any commission from her government. Unless Polonius can show that her armament puts her in a third class, subject to the disadvantages of a warship, his argument fails.

Most of the authority as to armed merchantment deals with their status when in neutral harbors, and the conclusion of law is that ships armed for defensive purposes only are to be treated as ships of peace and not as ships of war. Polonius says that this law has no application to the relation between the armed ship and the enemy on the high seas, but at least it may be answered that on principle what is white in port ought not to be black at sea. Certainly the law shows a tendency to regard ships like the Laconia as ships of peace.

There are, however, three cases—one British and two American—which deal directly with the status of armed merchant vessels on the high seas. The first of these in point of time was the Fanny, reported in 1 Dodson, p. 443, decided by Lord Stowell in 1814. Polonius says of this case that the court condemned a neutral cargo on an armed enemy vessel, "whereas, under ordinary rules, on an unarmed ship, it would have been free from capture." It is true that some of Lord Stowell's language is applied broadly to what he vaguely describes as "ships of force," and might be construed to support Polonius. But it is also true that the Fanny was not an armed merchantman like the Laconia, but a privateer, sailing under letters of marque and armed with sixteen guns. Lord Stowell said in his judgment: "The ship being furnished with a letter of marque is manifestly a ship of war, and is not otherwise to be considered because she acted also in a commercial capacity. The mercantile character being superadded does not predominate over or take away the other." The Fanny was a warship, and the decision is not strictly applicable to our question.

The second case was that of the Nereide, 9 Cranch, p. 388, decided by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1815. The Nereide was an armed British ship captured by an American privateer, and the court had to adjudge the position of the cargo, owned by a Spaniard. Marshall, C. J., for the majority pronounced it free from condemnation. Story, J., dissented in an opinion which accords with the view set forth by Polonius, considering all armed ships, whether bearing one gun or a hundred and whether commissioned or not, as alike in the face of the enemy. Polonius quotes from the judgment of Marshall, C. J., a sentence describing the Nereide as "an open and de-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clared belligerent, claiming all the rights and subject to all the dangers of the belligerent character." The context, however, shows that he was not contrasting the Nereide with unarmed enemy merchantmen, but with neutral ships; and the dangers to which he refers are those to which any enemy merchantman is subject, among which attack without warning is not one. Three years later in the Atalanta, 3 Wheaton, p. 409, the Supreme Court followed its decision in the Nereide on similar facts, and this time Story, J., stood with the rest of the court.

The predominant authority, then, holds that armed merchantmen are not warships, even as against the enemy, —at any rate so far as the status of neutral goods is concerned. Is it such bad law to apply the principle of these cases to the question of attack without warning? If American goods had no less protection in law because the Laconia was armed, why should American passengers have less? If the Nereide was not a warship, neither was the Laconia. And if she was not, we have a right to extend to the unfortunate victims something more than "pity."

L. A. Crosby.

New York City.

Disagrees With Polonius

SIR: Without disputing either the logic or authority of Polonius, who discusses in your issue of March 17th The Law and the Facts of Armed Neutrality, the argument advanced seems to ignore the real point at issue. It is indisputable that if Germany's threat to our merchant marine was limited to the methods in use before the advent of the submarine, the learned author's comments would be convincing. And it is equally obvious why in the absence of any international ruling defining the status of the submarine, neutral ship owners should hesitate to arm their ships on their own initiative, since by so doing they would assume the risk of being condemned as pirates.

But neither of these observations upon which so much stress is laid have any bearing upon the all-important question as to whether the undersea warfare declared and put into effect by Germany is legal or illegal. If it is legal, then "armed neutrality" is piracy. If it is illegal, we have the defensive right of shooting before being shot.

In attempting to solve this question there may be analogies from which it can be argued as to what the law should be; there is neither international precedent nor authority to determine what the law is.

Under these circumstances our government, consciously or unconsciously, rightly or wrongly, has made a decision and taken its stand. To condemn the decision is to admit a right on the part of Germany to sink neutral ships without warning, irrespective of whether they carry contraband or not, as sinking a ship without warning necessarily involves sinking her without determining the character of her cargo. Moreover, Germany's threat as put into effect covers neutral shipping of all kinds in the prohibited zones without discrimination as to the nature of their errands, service or contents.

If the government is right in its decision that Germany is wrong in its practice, then it little matters whether we call arming our ships an act of war or partial, benevolent, hostile or armed neutrality, the plain fact being that it promises to be an effective method of enforcing their right to sail the seas. If this is true, why quarrel and quibble over words? It may be highly gratifying for the legal mind to convict the President of being a pirate, as an accessory before the fact. Is it not more seriously patriotic to attempt to base our national policy, as The New Republic is seeking to do, upon an honest understanding of what we as a nation are trying and should try to accomplish?

Rush Sturges.

Providence, Rhode Island.

Believes in Outlawing

SIR: The illegitimate child shall not be made legitimate by civil law, because it will always be an outcast under moral law. It is utterly useless to attempt to force society to recognize the bastard by giving legal status to the unfortunate offspring. Not until civilization has rotted away, until morality has ceased to be the great ideal, and until licentiousness, corruption and excessive evil become dominant factors in our lives, will the bars to the outlawed child be taken down.

That life shall be renewed is not a supreme need but is rather the supreme greed. Because the unrestrained human male is a brute and will vent his passion on the defenseless female, is no excuse for recognizing "fatherless" children. Because laws have been passed in Europe, or are contemplated in America, to make legitimate the offspring of an unmarried relationship, is no argument for the wisdom of the measure. Instead of passing laws to minimize the results, why are not the forces of charity turned to destroying the causes?

Consider momentarily the result of a law to raise the standing of an illegitimate child. What will become of that pearl that we call "virtue," the thing which most persons prize, which is dearer to them than any other possession? With such a law on the statute books, the fear of conception, which keeps many girls in the straight path, and the dread of responsibility, which prevents many men from indulging their passions, would be removed. The institution of marriage would become unnecessary and practically useless, and in its place there would be promiscuousness.

To say that it is not really fair to try to put the whole blame for the fate of the illegitimate child on the parents alone, is to tell the truth, but change the word "fate" to "existence," and the sentence becomes pure idiocy. It is infinitely more important to make and enforce laws to crush evil, than to harbor immorality and then try to keep pace with its results.

Edwin A. Menninger.

New York City.

War Huckleberries

SIR: Anent the high cost of living the following incident is too good to keep under your hat. The Indians in the Grande Ronde and Wallowa Valleys of Eastern Oregon gather huckleberries and sell them in the near-by towns. For many years their price has been $1 per gallon until this past year, when they made the price $1.25 per gallon. On being asked the reason for the advance an Indian replied, "a hell of a war in Europe."

W. J. Pinney.

Ontario, Oregon.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Stenographer

The Job, by Sinclair Lewis. New York: Harper & Bros. $1.35.

THE world-consequences of business are no doubt prodigious, but much more certainly thrilling in fiction is the personal romance of the job. If Mr. Sinclair Lewis was at all tempted to emulate the grandiosity of Frank Norris, it is a satisfaction that instead he decided to follow the fortune of one woman stenographer and leave the rest to implication. A business story like The Pit was magnificent, but it wasn't fiction. It asked too little of the reader's sense of character and too much of his tectology. It supposed too eagerly that a process of frenzied finance was more exciting than the faith and apprehension and illusions and will of a pilgrim afoot between one darkness and another. Mr. Lewis has resisted that pompous mistake. Nor in The Job has he tried to argue the soul-filling romance of one hundred thousand mustard cans licked and labeled by a single machine in the space of a microscopic number of minutes. He has not allowed the rhetoric of quantitativeness to distract his mind. There are only two things that matter about business. One is the producer, and the other is the consumer. Mr. Lewis has not bothered with business as it relates to the consumer, but as to the producer he has kept his eye keenly on those ultimate relevancies that novelists and statesmen of business so often belittle—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

In following the life of a woman stenographer who emigrates from Pennsylvania to New York, Mr. Lewis has not been sufficiently free from New-Yorkishness to write a completely genuine novel. About modern New York there is a good deal of literary starched linen—brightness and trimness and flashiness—which is all very well for a J. Montgomery Flagg or a Julian Street, but which should be as trivial a consideration to a real artist as the crease in his trousers would be to a kneeling saint. This is not quite the case with The Job. Significant as is the subject Mr. Lewis has focused and ample its emotional content, he has fallen into a nervous briskness which is either the result of modern editorial speed-mania or of deprecations much too self-conscious ever to be indulged in again. The Job is staccato. It is subordinated to the spiritual window-shoppers of America. If this were not the case and if Mr. Lewis had not become a sort of Santa Claus at the finish, "The Job" would be of the treasures that moths do not devour.

For Sinclair Lewis has one attribute of genius—sympathetic insight. He is able to put himself in a woman-stenographer's place. With a cordiality that is the greatest charm of this novel he is able to imagine his Una Golden the neophyte of a New York business school—a "college" by pathetic mimicry. He is able to see her the sole supporter of a possessive mother and the victim of a grief at the death of that mother which is really a grief for a relationship never fully achieved. If Mr. Lewis loses credibility on this particular point by failing to ascribe one reminiscence of her mother to Una Golden, it is only perhaps because Una did not perceive so bitterly as Mr. Lewis does the maternal tyranny that was her fate. Una does recognize the matrimonial tyranny which eventually envelops her. But before she marries she breaks away from the last bonds of her native Panama, Pennsylvania. She goes to live in a model home for women on Madison Avenue, which is revealed with the insight that distinguishes the author of The Job. That home gives Una her first unrestricted familiarity with her own sex—satisfies boarding-school cravings—and compensates her as nothing else has compensated for the strain and routine and bareness of her work in a mediocre architect's office. Her normal zest for these companions is the kind of emotion that would be missed by a man absorbed in the mere Romance of Business. It is a side of human character to which Mr. Lewis has natural ingress like one of those angels who can pass through stone walls.

TIFFANY & CO.

THE QUALITY IS PROVERBIAL

FIFTH AVENUE AND 37TH STREET
NEW YORK

The emotions connected with office work are perfectly projected in this novel, and there is a good deal of acuteness about the fluid spirit of Walter Babson, Miss Golden's Pan in the first office where she goes to work. It is only the middle-aged salesman who takes her out of a hellish "booster's" office and gives her a safe, sane interlude of marriage who is too satirically and resentfully portrayed. Mr. Lewis has put all the banality of all the American drummers into this one genial swine. The trouble is not with his groveling. No fact could be better observed. It is with his incessant utterance. He is composite of all the complacent American barbarians who ever guzzled prosperity and bragged generosity and whined affliction at the first flick of nature's whip. He is taken as a much-tried satirist would take him, and everything else in The Job is portraiture.

After a full account of this Turk of a husband, Mr. Lewis given Una Golden a remarkable chance to go back into business, has fortune wait on her like a repentant lover, and enables her to disclose such initiative as belongs to few women outside the columns of the Saturday Evening Post. It is too complete. The demure Una

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Every Live American

a book of facts about the fighting on the Western Front in 1916, by the leading American war correspondent

FREDERICK PALMER

Author of "The Last Shot," "My Year of the Great War," and this new book

MY SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR

which contains descriptions of the Battles of the Somme and Verdun unequalled in accuracy and brilliancy by anything which has appeared in the literature of the war $1.50

THE LIFE OF THE GRASSHOPPER By J. HENRI FABRE

The seventh book in the translations being made by Teixeira from Fabre's *Souvenirs Entomologiques*. You may know nothing about grasshoppers and may think you care nothing about them, but Fabre writes a story of the grasshopper as dramatic and as interesting as a good piece of fiction.....$1.50

RELIGION FOR TODAY By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Various interpretations of the thought and practice of the new religion of our time by a well-known radical. Every page is an inspiration. As Minister of the Church of the Messiah, New York, and as author of "New Wars for Old," John Haynes Holmes has gained a wide and enthusiastic audience.....$1.50

MAN'S UNCONSCIOUS CONFLICT By WILFRID LAY

A popular exposition of psychoanalysis and its helpfulness in solving the perplexing problems of human existence, which gives the individual an explanation of his troublesome emotions and a definite plan for obtaining mastery of himself $1.50

New Fiction

BITTERSWEET.....By Grant Richards

Author of "Caviare," etc......$1.40

A story of life, of love, of Vanity Fair, of the demi-monde and Bohemian Paris before the war, containing some excellent character delineation.

UPSIDONIA.....By Archibald Marshall

Author of "Watermeads," etc......$1.50

An ingenious fantasy and a new thing in fiction. The story of a young man's romantic adventures in Upsidonia, a land where modern civilization is reversed.

THORGILS.....By Maurice Hewlett

Author of "The Forest Lovers," etc......$1.35

A picturesque tale of youth, of adventure and the exploits of a mediaeval hero, his wooing and wedding, told with Hewlett's power to lend enchantment to the people of another age.

From the Spring List of

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY

blossoms too brilliantly for her foliage, and her convenient rencontre with Walter is another offense against the actuarial probabilities that a good novelist is likely to respect.

But the compliances at the end of The Job should not annul it. It is extremely seldom that a novelist is sufficiently free from convention and sufficiently interested in life itself to see a new subject first-hand. This Mr. Lewis has done. He has not only made a woman who works for her living the central figure of his story, he has insisted on doing so without sentimentality or melodrama or false pathos. He has kept the spotlight of the novelist on her without giving her a spotlight-life. The honesty and imaginativeness of the presentation are nowhere so well shown as in the various Jews who appear in this New York novel. Mr. Lewis is able to see the Jew much less conventionally than some of the eminent writers who have the stage Jew always in mind and who insist on tempering the wind to the shorn Christian. It is the fulness of Mr. Lewis's emancipation from the ordinary outsider's view of office-work that gives him his own possession of New York facts. He is near the heart of things most of the time.

Best of all, however, is the unprecipitated feminism of The Job. Where David Graham Phillips was a hysterical amateur in Susan Lenox, Mr. Lewis is a calm realist; and not led to make a bugaboo of sex. The Job is just the answer to those who give too much importance to business as it is, and too little to workmanship and economic independence.

F. H.

Poland

Poland's Case for Independence, by the Members of the Polish Relief Committee. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $3.00.

OF all the Slavonic peoples the history of the Poles has been the most tragic. Like the Czechs, the Poles were the progressive wing of the early great division of the Slav race. On one side grouped the South Slavs, the Russians and the Ruthenes, with their adhesion to the Orthodox Church and their strong bias towards the unworldliness of the Orient. On the other side—roughly the Poles and Czechs—was an equally vigorous impulse towards participation in the more solid achievements of western civilization. Yet except for the Czechs, who for a long time were under the Austro-Hungarian domination, the liberal group of Slavonic peoples has been largely under alien Russian control. In the long history of badgering and persecution, the handing of a whole people from sovereignty to sovereignty like a private possession of a feudal prince, the series of partitions, dismemberments and conflicting administrations, the idea of Polish nationality has steadily endured. When the war broke out not all the clumsy autocracy of Russia nor all the "intensive" colonization of Prussia had been successful in establishing a spiritual split between the Poles of Warsaw and Posen. So far as the emotional appeal of a unified race goes, unified even in the misfortune which made the Polish people on one side of the Vistula fight their brothers on the slopes of the Carpathians, the present volume is almost a work of supererogation. But if it is not an emotionally sympathetic attitude towards Poland's case for independence that we need, we certainly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do require a knowledge of the facts which can give solid justification for that sympathy.

That knowledge the present book of essays supplies in authoritative and scientific fashion. The thrill of responsive approbation to President Wilson's bold demand that the world give Poland the autonomy so long unjustly denied it here has its sanction of plain fact. We had always suspected, of course, that Polish art and literature and intellectual achievement were distinctive; had we not always associated Copernicus and Chopin and Sienkiewicz? Even the high school student had heard at least of Paderewski and of By Fire and Sword. Yet to defend the thesis that all these activities emerged from the same national source, that there was an imperishable integrity of spirit and blood weaving them into a single racial pattern, needed just the careful and detailed historical background supplied so tersely yet so straightforwardly in Poland's Case for Independence. Nothing is more illuminating than, for instance, the simple percentages of population in the Grand Duchy of Posen. Here, from 1890 to 1910, in spite of all the pressure exerted by the Prussian Church and School and Government, the territory with a Polish majority increased by 850 square miles. There is no extermination of a race so resistant and dogged as that. Even in East Prussia it is in the towns where the administrative officials live rather than in the agricultural backbone of the land that German is the real language of the people. And as an economic unit, too, Poland stands like an embattled self-sufficient nation. It has coal and ore and fertile fields. How difficult to realize that Lodz alone is more populous than Liverpool or Manchester, or that as a manufacturing center it can already compete with Glasgow?

Yet what can "autonomy" mean for a nation the geographical buffer between two fundamentally hostile nations, both so mighty and overwhelming? What can it mean to a nation denied even a direct economic outlet to so cramped a sea as the Baltic? Can she ever be more than a vassal state enjoying a certain measure of local freedom at the price of attaching herself internationally and militaristically (with her two million possible soldiers) to the empire that protects her? One answer is certain. If the peace that we so hope for leaves Europe as the war found it, then most certainly she can never be anything more. But let us suppose a negotiated peace in which Poland becomes a principal instead of a pawn. Then the inexorable logic of the probable military situation, when such a conference takes place, will of itself suggest a realistic solution which is as close as well to the ideal one as we can rationally desire. H. N. Brailsford has outlined such a solution. Briefly, the old Russian Kingdom of Poland and Galicia would unite in a separate kingdom under Austro-Hungarian auspices, but with the same measure of autonomy granted to the new kingdom as is already possessed by Hungary. A chastened Germany and a liberal Entente could perhaps agree on certain of the frontier sections of Posen being incorporated into the new Kingdom. A free passage up the Vistula to and out of Danzig would likewise have to be guaranteed. Probably a complex system of tariff arrangements and economic barriers would be necessary for a short recuperative period. More flexibility in the trade relations with Russia than perhaps the Central Powers might wish would to a certain extent soothe Russia's pride and at the same time act as a check to the new military Teutonic power of the new kingdom. At least from the Polish point of view such a solution would be the hap-

A Fable

Once there was a famine in the land and all the beasts and flying things gathered to decide what to do. After long discussion, the squirrel, being practical, said that he could easily spare the songbirds as they did no work at harvest time. The other beasts agreed that this was a sensible idea and so the birds were killed.

The next year the crop was good but the animals did not prosper, for as the ass said, with no lark to call them and no thrush to sing to them, there was nothing to work for. So the harvest was lost and things fared ill with them.

The Moral

If you would strive for the happiest of ends, do not overlook the things that are worth working for. In rating high the artisan, do not fail to prize the poet.

Reflections

This fable is capable of divers morals, but if no other, do you take this one from it, namely, not to overlook the value of inspiration in the will to serve. Do you turn often to the nation's poets, who by some are held to be its true owners.

If you come from the South, do you look to your William Alexander Percy[1]. So be it you come from the West, turn to Frederick Mortimer Clapp[2], who has sung of your world. If it befall that you belong in the less far West you should listen to J. H. Wallis[3]. Has chance or the affairs of life placed you in the Metropolis, do you look to William Rose Benét[4]. Or if a New England up-bringing has been yours, read of what you know and love as writ by Pierce[5], or Hooker[6].

Or, should you be of that breadth of interest that you count not from the compass or by seasons, do you turn to the treasury of American verse[7] chosen out by Professor Lounsbury and enhanced by "A Word About Anthologies" from his pen, which could have come from none other.

If your thoughts be of a warlike turn, read of the chivalry of yore in a poem of cheery couplets: "Gawayne and the Green Knight."[8]

In brief, work hard, but never fail to think and read and feel.

[1]SAPPHO IN LEVKAS, AND OTHER POEMS. By William Alexander Percy. (Second Printing). $1.00 *net.*

[2]ON THE OVERLAND, AND OTHER POEMS. By Frederick Mortimer Clapp. $1.00 *net.*

[3]THE TESTAMENT OF WILLIAM WINDUNE, AND OTHER POEMS. By J. H. Wallis. $1.00 *net.*

[4]THE FALCONER OF GOD, AND OTHER POEMS. THE GREAT WHITE WALL. By William Rose Benét. $1.00 *net* each.

[5]JORDAN FARMS. An Epic in Homespun. By Frederick E. Pierce. $1.00 *net.*

[6]POEMS. By Brian Hooker. $1.00 *net.*

[7]YALE BOOK OF AMERICAN VERSE. By the late Thomas R. Lounsbury. (Fourth Printing). $2.25 *net.*

[8]GAWAYNE AND THE GREEN KNIGHT. By Charlton M. Lewis. (Second Printing). $1.00 *net.*

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

209 Elm Street
NEW HAVEN, CONN

280 Madison Avenue
NEW YORK CITY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Production Manager Wanted
By a large automobile manufacturer in Detroit.
A man who will justify a yearly compensation of $25,000 or more. For ob-

A $25,000 position—can you qualify?

The production-managership of a big corporation is open. The salary is $25,000 a year.

You want that job. You call on the president and try to "sell" yourself to him and the corporation.

What have you to offer? What are your talking points? Could you, with confidence, answer the advertisement for a $25,000 executive which appeared recently in a leading weekly magazine?

Do you really believe you are qualified for so responsible an executive position? You are a capable traffic manager, office manager, auditor or credit man. But what do you know about the rest of the business?

The knowledge an executive must have

An executive must have a sound, general knowledge of business and the principles that underlie it.

Modern corporations have no high places for untrained men, or one-job men. For the big places, judgment and a broad knowledge, rather than specialization, are required.

The Modern Business Course and Service of the Alexander Hamilton Institute trains men to be executives by teaching them business fundamentals. When you study this Course you get the benefit of the experience of thousands of successful men with all their errors eliminated.

A man with this training has a saleable asset. He does not lack talking points when the big opportunity comes to "sell" himself.

The Modern Business Course and Service is designed for the spare time of busy men. You can study it in your home, in the odds and ends of your time.

The kind of men enrolled

Presidents of big corporations are often enrolled for this Course and Service along with ambitious young men in their employ. Among the 50,000 subscribers are such men as H. C. Osborn, President, American Multigraph Sales Co.; Melville W. Mix, President of the Dodge Mfg. Co.; George M. Verity, President of the American Rolling Mills; William H. Ingersoll, Marketing Manager of the biggest watch company in the world; N. A. Hawkins, General Sales Manager of the Ford Motor Co., and scores of others equally prominent.

Advisory Council

Business and Educational authority of the highest standing is represented in the Advisory Council of the Alexander Hamilton Institute. This Advisory Council includes Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank of New York; Judge E. H. Gary, head of the U. S. Steel Corporation; John Hays Hammond, the eminent engineer; Jeremiah W. Jenks, the statistician and economist, and Joseph French Johnson, Dean of the New York University School of Commerce.

"Forging Ahead in Business"

A careful reading of this 135-page book, "Forging Ahead in Business," which we will send you free, will help measure what you know—what you don't know and what you should know—to make success *sure*. Every man with either a business or a career to guide to bigger, surer success should read this book. Simply fill out and send the coupon below.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON INSTITUTE
591 Astor Place New York, N. Y.

Send me "Forging Ahead in Business"—FREE

Name .....
Business Address .....
Business Position .....

piest. For in Galicia the Poles have enjoyed more freedom than in Russian Poland. Austria-Hungary is an old hand at keeping divergent nationalities satisfied—at any rate, older and fairer than Germany. If the Entente really is true to its nationality principles and is in a position to compel or persuade Germany to help Poland, it will not be thwarted by the fear that the Kingdom of Poland weights the "balance of power" too heavily in favor of its former enemies. Let us hope such a conception will be scrapped. For even Germany has shown consideration of Poland's national ambitions, as Leon Litwinski in this volume himself admits. Referring to a speech in the Reichstag on August last, Mr. Litwinski says: "He (Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg) knew perfectly well that from a Polish point of view he was paying the Poles the greatest tribute they could crave for themselves." A dictated peace means a Europe still dominated by fear. And in such a Europe the case for Poland's independence is utterly hopeless. Like so many other nations, her fate depends on a liberal peace—on both sides.

H. S.

Rolland as Critic of Music

Händel, by Romain Rolland. Translated by A. Eaglefield Hull. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $1.25.

ROMAIN ROLLAND is critic of music by the grace of a passionate love of it. It is the intensest passion of his life. To one section of Jean-Christophe he prefixed a few lines from Schubert's song An die Musik. One of them, Du holde Kunst, ich danke Dir, might fittingly serve as the motto of Rolland's own existence. As, in a moment of exquisite lucidity, one might turn to a woman, a friend, and thank them for unfailing solace and help and comradeship, so Romain Rolland turns to music. His critical work, slowly filtering over to us, intimates something of what it has been to him all his days. There, we see him carrying its banner, laboring for its victory as one would labor for a religion, struggling to save France by the might of art. In his novel we feel his love even more directly. He dreams himself Beethoven come to Paris to give France and Europe an heroic democratic art. In the person of Olivier, the French genius, he calls the spirit of the German music that he loves across the Rhine, to erase the international boundary, and bring comradeship between Frank and German to be. And, in the monstrance of his fiction, he holds high before us music the revealer of life, music the regenerator, music the hero-savior blessing man. Beside the radiance of such a love, most human passions flicker dully.

And so, when he writes of music, Romain Rolland writes as a great literary artist realizing a deep experience. Each of his musical studies is the fruit of an adventure, spiritual, perhaps, but doubly real. Just that quality of a thing lived that informs it gives his criticism its value. It is no nice and scholarly arrangement of facts, such as the average aesthetic document is prone to be, that he offers us. His criticism has the quick form, the personal impress, of creative work. The data has been correlated, it is obvious enough, with Rolland's own experience. It is a fragment of his own life that each of his works on music offers us. No critic since Schumann's time has written so humanly of music. The difference between Händel, for instance, and Jean-Christophe, is purely a difference of medium. Both serve to express Romain Rolland. Into

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DON'T BUY
A VACUUM CLEANER
FROM US

Altogether there are about 75 different kinds of Electric and Hand-power Vacuum Cleaners made in this country. Some are very good, others not so good, and some, by comparison, are very poor. Some are very good for factories and public buildings, but are too expensive and heavy for home use, etc., etc. We carry the whole 75 kinds in stock, good, bad, and indifferent. There is no excuse for buying an inferior kind of cleaner. You need only

ASK OUR ADVICE—

it's free to prospective purchasers. That is why we say "Don't buy a vacuum cleaner from us" until you get a copy of "How to Select a Vacuum Cleaner."

We also save you money on any make of cleaner you wish to purchase, because we are the largest wholesale and retail dealers in vacuum cleaners in the world.

10 Days Free Trial

allowed on any make of cleaner that we recommend.

Prices on Hand-power Cleaners range from $3.95 to $15.00. Electric from $16.75 to $150.00, and, strange to say, the $16.75 cleaner is better for home use than the $150.00 one. This statement proves that our advice is valuable.

We sell on easy payments, and pay express charges anywhere in the United States.

OUR MAIL ORDER DEPARTMENT

enables you to purchase by mail no matter where you live just as conveniently as if you were right in our showrooms.

Our 3500-word booklet, entitled "How to Select a Vacuum Cleaner," is worth many dollars to anyone considering the purchase of a cleaner. Send coupon today for free copy.

Muenzen Specialty Company
129 W. 42d St., N. Y., Dept. 28

Without obligating me in any way, send me free copy of "How to Select a Vacuum Cleaner" containing information of great value. I am enclosing four cents in stamps to cover the postage. Also send your complete price list of your prices on (insert the word "hand or electric")..... Power Vacuum Cleaners.

Name .....

.....

.....

An Advertisement by
THE PULLMAN COMPANY

Women and children form a large proportion of the passengers of the Pullman Company. The safety of the cars, due to their unusually sturdy construction; the sanitary condition in which they are maintained; the numerous conveniences which their equipment affords, and the courtesy of the Pullman employes are all factors contributing to the increased comfort and enjoyment of railroad travel.

In the Pullman car only a limited number of passengers are accommodated; there is no crowding. Operating over practically every railroad in the country, it is rarely necessary for the passengers to change cars from departure to destination. Both of these conditions contribute to the safety and comfort of unescorted women and children.

For fifty years the Pullman Company has directed its efforts to the determination of the needs of the traveling public, and the development of a service to meet these requirements. That twenty-nine per cent of Pullman conductors and twenty-five per cent of Pullman porters have been in the continuous service of the Company for over ten years indicates the high personnel of the employes by whom the service is rendered.

A FELLOWSHIP OF $800

is offered by

THE NEW YORK SCHOOL OF PHILANTHROPY
Edward T. Devine, Director

To College Graduates Who Have Completed Their Course Before September, 1912

105 EAST 22nd STREET NEW YORK

Write for complete information to Department B

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PAINTINGS BY AMERICAN IMPRESSIONISTS AND POST-IMPRESSIONISTS ALWAYS ON VIEW
DANIEL GALLERY
2 WEST 47TH STREET NEW YORK

INTIMATE TEACHING BY SCHOLARLY MEN
Riverdale Country School
A boarding and day school for boys in the open country at Riverdale-on-Hudson, upper New York City. Fourteen acres. Hardy country life, sound college preparation, expert physical training. Special department for younger boys.
Address FRANK S. HACKETT, Headmaster
Riverdale-on-Hudson, New York City Tel. 123 Kingsbridge

PAUL VERLAINE
HIS ABSINTHE-TINTED SONG
A NEW TRANSLATION by BERGEN APPLEGATE
Most complete and representative English translation of this great Frenchman's work, containing about 160 poems, a biography and bibliography. The edition is an exceptionally handsome one, with decorative title page and collotype illustrations.
Issued in a LIMITED EDITION of 250 copies at $5.00 each
(Containing an etched portrait af Verlaine)
REGULAR EDITION . . . . . $2.00 each
RALPH FLETCHER SEYMOUR, PUBLISHER
410 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO
or of your bookseller

S C M A
TRADE MARK REG. U.S. PAT. OFFICE

Well, what do you know about that!
"Signed Lumber is Safe Lumber."
A Trade Mark on every board and stick of CYPRESS "the Wood Eternal."
Me for Cypress — when I build or when I patch the back-steps!
Watch me Insist on seeing that trade mark, hereafter!
No speculative lumber for me after this!

Guess I'd better get some Cypress Books.
Guess I'll write the "All-round Helps Dept.,"
SOUTHERN CYPRESS MFRS. ASSN.
1255 Hibernia Bank Building, New Orleans, La.
1255 Heard National Bank Building, Jacksonville, Fla.

the shaping of both went the same unmatchably warm, gentle, clear spirit. The beauty of the criticism, as well as the beauty of the novel, lies in the directness with which it gives it again.

And what, after all, is this essay on Händel but a slighter companion-piece to Jean-Christophe, dealing with an historic rather than with an imaginary personage? The hero of the novel is Beethoven, come to life a hundred years later, and migrating to modern Paris instead of revolutionary Vienna. What drew Rolland to Beethoven, drew him to Händel, too. Händel, to Rolland, is Beethoven's proper precursor, likest him in being and in art. And, just as he sought in the music of the master of Bonn, rather than in the legend that had grown about him, for the dynamically human figure, he turns from the pious legend of the composer of The Messiah to seek in Händel's art the outline of the great man. Bach and Händel have often been contrasted as Gothic cathedral and Greek temple, Olympian and Titan, aristocrat and democrat. It is Händel the pagan, the gigantic, the popular, that grows from the pages of Rolland's book. Händel the God-fearing is but the fiction of English puritanism. Drawn to him by the fact that he wrote biblical oratorios in English, the British endowed him with the lineaments of the ideal composer. Rolland's essay dispels the clouds and harps, false as the clouds and harps on the Händel monument in Westminster Abbey, that have obscured him from us. The man accepted life quite simply, with the mysticism of the average viking. He wrote "sacred" oratorios because the medium liberated his imagination and permitted him to expand his music to epic breadth, a thing the baroque opera of the day could scarcely do. Moreover the public was familiar with the biblical texts and preferred them to the stale classicism of the operatic librettos. For Händel, like Shakespeare, was a good business man, and in spite of two failures died rich. The story of Händel's bankruptcy forms one of the most tragic and glorious chapters of musical history. His art, it will be remembered, was a political affair in London. It was patronized by the Hanoverians and their middle-class supporters, persecuted by the Jacobean aristocracy. Händel who had been in England since the reign of Queen Anne and had been naturalized, was befriended by George I and George II, and became music-master to several of the royal children. In consequence, the nobility tried to ruin him, and twice, in spite of Händel's titanic struggles, succeeded. Had it not been for the intercession of powerful friends, the "God-fearing" composer might have died in an English debtor's prison. The Battle of Culloden saved him. The country rallied to the dynasty. Händel wrote his hymn of triumph, Judas Maccabeus. And, in voicing the national emotion, Händel, already so deeply imbued with English thought and English song, became England's composer. At the height of his triumph, he was stricken blind. His power of creation went with his eyesight. It was, indeed, "total eclipse." He died soon after.

It is not as an entirely faultless critic that one proposes Romain Rolland. There are many valuations in his work, such, for instance, as the preference of Händel over Bach, Strauss over Debussy, the complete overestimation of Beethoven, to which one cannot subscribe. And yet his very erroneous judgments are more interesting than the sounder ones of other criticism. They are characteristic of the man. His genius as a critic lies in his power to disengage for us the human of the artists he treats, to interpret music so that it speaks to us as naturally as prose. Händel is an excellent example of his critical method.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

James Joyce

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man

H. G. WELLS

"Like some of the best novels in the world it is the story of an education: it is by far the most living and convincing picture that exists of an Irish Catholic upbringing. It is a mosaic of jagged fragments that does altogether render with extreme completeness the growth of a rather secretive, imaginative boy in Dublin. The technique is startling, but on the whole it succeeds. . . The interest of the book depends entirely upon its quintessential and unfailing reality. One believes in Stephen Dedalus as one believes in few characters in fiction."—*The New Republic.*

JAMES HUNEKER

"Joyce is as implacably naturalistic as the Russian in his vision of the sombre, mean, petty, dusty commonplaces of middle class life, and he sometimes suggests the Frenchman in his clear, concise, technical methods. Whoever the man is he is ndubitably a new talent. . . . From school to college, from the brothel to the confessional, from his mother's apron strings to coarse revelry, the hero, a sorry one, is put to the torture by art and relates the story of his blotched yet striving soul. We do not recall a book like this since the autobiography 'En Route,' by J. K. Huysmans."—*New York Sun.*

FRANCIS HACKETT

"It has such beauty, such love of beauty, such intensity of feeling, such pathos, such candor, it goes beyond anything in English that reveals the inevitable malaise of serious youth."—*The New Republic.*

W. M. REEDY

"Joyce is of the very newest school. He scorns or seems to scorn selection. He is a post-impressionist in letters. He writes more like the author of that post-impressionist French novel, 'The Death of a Nobody,' than like anyone else. And he inexpressibly shocks anyone who thinks of Ireland as the Ireland of Tom Moore or any of the writers about Ireland up to a dozen years ago."—*Reedy's Mirror.*

THE STATE

"There is extraordinary good writing in this book, vivid and unforgettable scenes. . . . The pictures come and go like the flashes and the sudden changes of dreams. Sound, sight, smell, touch and taste Joyce reproduces in words with extreme force."—(*Columbia, S. C.*)

By the same author: Dubliners

Each, $1.50 net. At all bookstores, or of the publisher

New York **B. W. Huebsch** 225 Fifth ave.

The Unwelcome Man

By Waldo Frank

Here is a problem story that will interest many readers who want books that contain somewhat of thought as well as words.
—*Pittsburgh Gazette-Times.*

The growth of a nature naturally loving and lovable and its transformation by instability, convention and uncongenial environment is shrewdly described by Mr. Frank.—*Boston Transcript.*

Mr. Frank's study will leave an impression of large truth. The book is distinctly independent and American. The types are clear cut and native.—*New York Evening Post.*

$1.50 net
At All Bookstores

LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY
Publishers BOSTON

"Mademoiselle Miss"

Letters from an American girl serving with the rank of Lieutenant in a French Army Hospital at the front.

Published for the benefit of the American Fund for French Wounded.

Price 50 Cents

W. A BUTTERFIELD, 59 Bromfield St., Boston

The Pan-Angles

A Consideration of the Federation of the Seven English-speaking Nations

BY

SINCLAIR KENNEDY

". . . its ten chapters develop the argument . . . with much force of historical illustration, . . . its appearance is . . . a sign of the times, and deeply significant."—*Nation.*

8vo, $1.75 net

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
PUBLISHERS
Fourth Ave. and Thirtieth St. New York

THE PRESENT LABOR SITUATION

January, 1917, issue of

THE ANNALS

The Case for and against the Railroad Employes

JULIUS H. PARMELEE
Bureau of Railway Economics

W. JETT LAUCK
Washington, D. C.

Wages, Working Conditions and Hours of Labor

I. M. RUBINOW
American Medical Association

A. N. HOLCOMBE
Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission

JOHN B. ANDREWS
American Association for Labor Legislation

ALEXANDER FLEISHER
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company

JOHN IHLDER
Philadelphia Housing Commission

HARRIS WEINSTOCK
State Market Director of California

PETER ALEXANDER SPEEK
Library of Congress.

GEORGE G. GROAT
University of Vermont

RICHARD A. FEISS, Manager of Clothcraft Shops, Cleveland

Compulsory Arbitration or Investigation before Strikes or Lockouts

FRANK T. CARLTON
Albion College

F. A. ACLAND
Deputy Minister of Labor, Ottawa

A. B GARRETSON, President, Order of Railway Conductors

Voluntary Arbitration and Conciliation in Private Businesses

GEORGE M. JANES
University of Washington

JULIUS HENRY COHEN
Author of *Law and Order in Industry*

EARL DEAN HOWARD
Northwestern University

JOSEPH H. WILLITS
University of Pennsylvania

F. S. DEIBLER
Northwestern University

CARL H. MOTE
Indianapolis

Fixing Hours and Wages in the Railroads and Other Public Utilities

L. E. HOFFMAN
Little Rock, Ark.

O. W. UNDERWOOD
United States Senator

DELOS F. WILCOX
New York City

EMORY R. JOHNSON
University of Pennsylvania

CHARLES R. Van HISE
University of Wisconsin

A. B. GARRETSON
President, Order of Railway Conductors

JAMES T. YOUNG, University of Pennsylvania

$1.00 paper; $1.50 cloth

Address The American Academy of Political and Social Science
36th and Woodland Ave., West Philadelphia

OTHER RECENT VOLUMES ISSUED BY THE ACADEMY

Personnel and Employment Problems (May, 1916.)
Steadying Employment (May, 1916, Supplement)
Preparedness and America's International Program (July, 1916)
New Possibilities in Education (September, 1916)
America's Changing Investment Market (November, 1916)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A CANADIAN CITY IN WAR TIME

By PAUL U. KELLOGG

EDITOR OF

The Survey

SHOULD war come, we have much to learn from our neighbors of the North. Canadian men—those of them who have not gone overseas in khaki—have given generously and have persuaded other men to dig deep into their pockets. They have blazed the way in organizing the tremendous good will of a nation into efficient service through the Canadian Patriotic Fund.

But it has remained for the women of Montreal to bring this work to its highest estate. They have worked all day and every day as if they were paid for it, when they were not paid at all; as if they were trained for it, whereas most of them had it all to learn; and as if it were the one thing near their hearts, while the hearts of many of them were torn asunder by fear for the brothers and sons in the trenches.

A series of articles of prime importance at this time. The first instalment—

THE PATRIOTIC FUND AND THE WOMEN OF MONTREAL

is the leading feature of the SURVEY for March 17—10 cents a copy. Later titles will be Families of Soldiers Overseas, the Military Hospitals Commission, An Associated Charities in War Time, The Vocational Re-education of Discharged Soldiers.

Other articles in the March 17 issue are:

MOBILIZED ON MOVING DAY

The American Red Cross at work amidst the difficulties of moving into its new building in Washington.

THE MACHINERY OF MISERY

Germany's social organization for civilian relief during war, by Bruno Lasker.

A REVEILLE TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY

Some social consequences of the stock-taking of men and machines, by John A. Fitch.

In the issue for March 31, the SURVEY will make another editorial expedition across the border in an article on

NINE YEARS OF THE CANADIAN ACT

The experience with compulsory investigation of industrial disputes and its application to the United States; a study made on the ground, with the opinion of men of many ranks in the Dominion, by Ben M. Selekman of the Division of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation; together with brief signed comments on the dispute act by representatives of capital, labor and the general public in the United States.

Last summer, faced by a general railroad strike,—which has only this last week been settled—almost the whole country turned to the Canadian act. But the act is almost as widely misunderstood as it is acclaimed. This SURVEY discussion of it will prove illuminating to students of labor problems, and of the human beings whose lives underlie labor problems, on both sides the long friendly frontier.

Send 35 cents for copies of these two issues; or send $1 for a four-months' subscription (Canadian, $1.25), including these and the whole series by Paul U. Kellogg; or Send $3 (Canadian $3.75), including all of the above and a full year's subscription to

THE SURVEY

Journal of Social Exploration

112 East 19 Street New York

RUSSIA

TIMELY PUBLICATIONS

SEE ALSO PAGE ii

RUSSIA AND THE GREAT WAR

BY GREGOR ALEXINSKY

Ex-Deputy to the Duma.

Author of "Modern Russia" and "Russia and Europe."

"Nothing yet written could be more interesting and informing than Mr. Alexinsky's contribution to the history of the war, as it throws light on many events the causes of which are, to us, obscure."—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

$3.00 net.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.
597 Fifth Avenue, New York.

RUSSIAN AND NOMAD

BY E. NELSON FELL

Fully illustrated. $2.00 net.

The curious primitive life and strange, wild country of the Khirgiz steppes are described by Mr. Fell, for years in charge there of a mining company. A pleasing, accurate and sympathetic narrative of a land and people unfamiliar but increasingly interesting and important. —*N. Y. Times Literary Review.*

DUFFIELD & Co., 211 West 33d St., New York.

REMINISCENCES OF TOLSTOY

BY COUNT ILYA TOLSTOY

A living picture of the philosopher-saint, written by his son. A vivid portrayal of Russian patriarchal life with its quaint traditional customs.

Tolstoy is presented as schoolmaster, soldier, literary man, social reformer, and always as an idolized father.

Illustrated. $2.50.

THE CENTURY CO., 353 Fourth Ave., New York.

THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE

BY STANLEY WASHBURN

Author of "Victory in Defeat," etc.

"Intensely interesting. Stanley Washburn has had the ability to choose those salient things that really present the picture of the army, the country, the strategy, the people, the occurrences, great and small, of Russia's part in the war; we have a real glimpse of the Russian advance as a whole, and an actual sense of what, in Russia and in Austria, lies behind it."—*N. Y. Times.*

At all bookstores. Illustrated. Net, $1.25.

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & Co.

SOLOVYOF, VLADIMIR

WAR AND CHRISTIANITY

From the Russian Point of View. 12°. $1.50. (By mail, $1.60.)

Solovyof is Russia's greatest philosopher and one of the greatest of her poets. In national culture he owned Dostoevsky as his prophet, and with him is one of the spiritual leaders of the Russian people. In this volume he combats Tolstoy and positivism, expressing the trust in spiritual power, which was his deepest faith.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, New York.

HIMEBAUGH & BROWNE

471 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Visit the most interesting book shop in America. Here you will find the books advertised each week in these pages. Mail orders promptly filled.

Send for Catalog of Unusual Bargains.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The figure that he has there restored for us is the best commentary on Händel's music. Better than any scholarly exegesis of his style, the portrait of this heroic man, battling in the turmoil of existence and yet above it, strong and well poised in defeat and in victory, giving himself and his art to the democratic mass, opens his music to us. The purists will doubtlessly term criticism of music that attains its end in this fashion "literary." Perhaps it is. If it is, it demonstrates for all time the effectuality of the "literary" criticism of music.

P. R.

Penrod Matures

Penrod and Sam, by Booth Tarkington. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co. $1.35.

PENROD will some day grow up; nothing can stop the onrushing blight of maturity. Is he not already in the magazines depicted in the growing-pain awkwardness of puppy love affairs? When his boyhood has been wholly lost a large section of the American reading public will become less tolerant to the youth to whom, when the spring warmth turns the snow into a soft and sticky mass, a hat is a challenge and a cane a maddening provocation. Over all our fair land middle-aged commuters will be less sympathetic to the imperishable romance which causes the disappearance of their firearms or the colored bottles in the home medicine chest. For Penrod has long been an imaginative mediator between stolid parents and the quivering adventurousness of every male between the ages of eight and fourteen. He is the one real spiritual brother of Tom Sawyer that has so far made his appearance in popular American literature, even though Penrod has to content himself with a less spacious environment than his predecessor and instead of in the wide reaches of the Mississippi Valley is compelled to discover mystery and meaning in the unaccommodating streets of an ugly made town. In Penrod and Sam Mr. Tarkington has described how his hero accomplished the eternal miracle of boyhood with a humor and a charm and a veracity that cannot be disputed. Yet our wish for Penrod never to grow up is not mere sentiment. For Mr. Tarkington's insight is keener when he describes the pre-adolescent phase of boyhood, the age of young romantic animalism and adventure, when everything grown-up has the single significance of an obstacle. That fine, first careless outlook on life he can quite recapture. If his insight is narrow, like a glove that can be made to fit a growing boy's hand but for a paltry two months, yet when the glove fits, it fits perfectly.

Contributors

to this issue

A. M. SIMONS is prominent in the Socialist movement of this country and is the author of The American Farmer, The Class Struggle in America, Social Forces in American History, and Wasting Human Life.

CARL RUSSELL FISH is professor of American history at the University of Wisconsin and is the author of Civil Service and the Patronage, Development of the American Nation, and American Diplomacy.

ALVIN S. JOHNSON is an editor of The New Republic.

H. N. BRAILSFORD is an English publicist who has often contributed articles on British politics to The New Republic.

GEORGE SOULE is assistant editor of The New Republic.

Russia

ALFRED A. KNOPF has published several books that explain what is now happening in Russia. They are on special display at all book shops. Note particularly GREAT RUSSIA, a most comprehensive but brief survey by Charles Sarolea ($1.25) and Kornilov's MODERN RUSSIAN HISTORY, a larger but very complete work unique in that it covers 1916 (2 vols., $5.00 net). The last chapter virtually foretold the Revolution.

Place your order now for THE SHIELD, edited by Gorky, Andreyev and Sologub, and Walling's RUSSIA'S MESSAGE: The People Against the Czar. Both are vital to your understanding of what is happening. They are on press and will be ready shortly.

TOLSTOÏ'S WORKS

The personality and teachings of Count Tolstoï as reflected in his writings have had such tremendous influence in our own generation, that it is idle to speak of him here as a world-force, or to discuss the supreme qualities of his style. Every student of fiction and philosophy is deeply interested in this nineteenth-century master, and will doubtless be glad to learn of a definitive edition of his works.

Practically the whole of Tolstoï's literary life-work may be found here, beginning with "War and Peace," "Anna Karénina," "The Cossacks," "Family Happiness," and "The Kreutzer Sonata," and concluding with his latest, and, as many think, his greatest novel, "Resurrection," in the copyright version. All his marvellous short stories of life in Russia, in the Caucasus, and in the Crimea are included. Still more valuable and practical are his essays on religion and Christian socialism—"My Religion," "My Confession," "Life," "What is Religion?" "The Gospel in Brief," and kindred works. His views of Painting, Music, and Literature are eloquently expounded in the treatise, "What is Art?"

The text is translated directly from the original by such competent scholars as Aylmer Maude, Nathan Haskell Dole and Isabel F. Hapgood. The type page is excellent and the illustrations comprise rare portraits and scenes.

14 vols. Thin paper pocket edition

$1.00 per vol. in cloth. $1.75 per vol. in limp leather.

Order of your bookseller. Postage 10 per cent extra on mail orders.

THOMAS Y. CROWELL CO.
New York City

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAZDA

"Not the name of a thing, but the mark of a service"

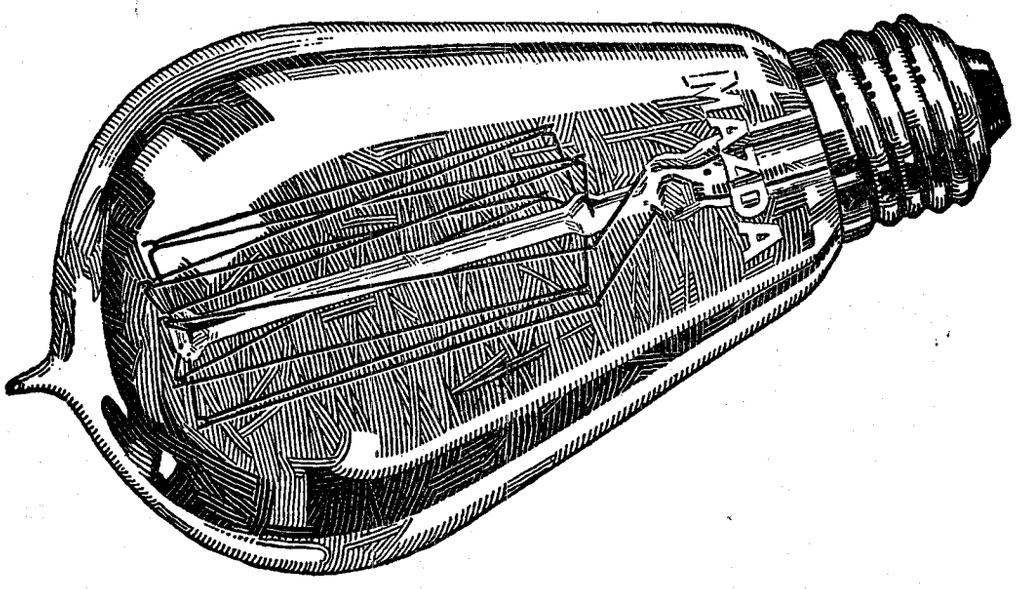
Instead of *one* manufacturer's spasmodic development of his product, MAZDA Service substitutes a systematic, all-inclusive study of incandescent electric lamps for *several* manufacturers.

THE MEANING OF MAZDA

MAZDA is the trademark of a world-wide service to certain lamp manufacturers. Its purpose is to collect and select scientific and practical information concerning progress and developments in the art of incandescent lamp manufacturing and to distribute this information to the companies entitled to receive this service. MAZDA Service is centered in the Research Laboratories of the General Electric Company at Schenectady, New York.

The mark MAZDA can appear only on lamps which meet the standards of MAZDA Service. It is thus an assurance of quality. This trademark is the property of the General Electric Company.

RESEARCH LABORATORIES OF THE GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY



4628

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED